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THE FORTNIGHTLY

MAY, 1951

THE COMING SLUMP

BY PAUL EINZIG

TO utter a warning against the danger of a slump during a period of rapidly rising prices is an ungrateful task. Yet it has to be performed by somebody. For most people are too preoccupied with the dangers of to-day to give any thought to tomorrow's. The experts are too busy trying to find a solution of the problem of existing inflation to be searching for remedies against the deflation that may follow it. As for the general public, few people among them would believe it if they were told that they would be even worse off amid falling prices than they are now. The memories of the deflationary difficulties during the 'twenties and 'thirties have faded into oblivion in face of the acute troubles caused by rising prices. And it is one of the characteristics of human nature to believe that the trend which happens to be in progress at the moment will continue indefinitely.

Admittedly it is not easy for the layman to see the end of the present period of rising prices. Day after day new increases are announced. Every new delivery of goods received by wholesale merchants from manufacturers and by retail merchants from wholesale merchants is priced higher than the previous one. Transport costs are rising, and with it rises cost of living and cost of production. We are undoubtedly caught in an inflationary vicious spiral ; wages, costs and prices are chasing each other incessantly. On the face of it there appears to be no reason why it should not continue like this for years without a major break.

There have been several different types of inflation in operation concurrently since the war, feeding each other reciprocally. During the war the inevitable Budgetary deficit resulted in a purchasing power inflation, aggravated by a scarcity of goods but partly suppressed by subsidies, price controls and rationing. During the early post-war years the pent-up demand arising from accumulated purchasing power was pressing persistently on the growing output of goods. Even though high wages, over-full employment, social service benefits and profit inflation maintained a high level of purchasing power, the volume of goods has succeeded in catching up with the demand in most lines during the last year or two. Nevertheless inflation was liable to become accentuated the moment the increase in the volume

of supplies of goods for civilian consumption was halted. Rearmament and the shortage of raw materials threaten to bring about such a situation. Even before it was actually reached, a new type of inflation appeared on the scene. The sharp rise in the prices of certain imported raw materials initiated a new vicious spiral, causing a general rise in manufacture prices which, in turn, lead to fresh wages demands. Business firms find that their working capital is no longer sufficient to enable them to acquire and carry high-priced stocks and pay swollen wages and salaries. They have to apply to the banks for additional credit facilities. The result is a credit expansion which is none the less inflationary for arising as a consequence of rising prices instead of being their cause.

It is no longer possible to hope that the upward trend could be checked through an increase of the output. Owing to shortages of raw materials and to defence requirements it seems doubtful whether it will be possible to avoid a substantial decline of civilian production. Even if the workmen were willing to work longer hours it would not help in many industries, because they would merely use up sooner the limited supplies of raw materials. Knowing this, the workmen are not likely to exert themselves. They might even slow down in order to avoid working themselves out of employment. This would add considerably to the cost of production.

It is true, we experienced recently a sharp setback in the prices of wool, tin and some other materials. After their steep rise this was overdue. But if stockpiling and rearmament demands should continue the prices of these and other materials would soon recover and achieve new high records. The only hope of a lasting substantial reverse of raw material prices lies in a cessation of stockpiling and rearmament demand. Even though at their present level raw material prices are highly vulnerable, continued defence requirements would raise them to higher and higher levels. The longer rearmament and stockpiling continues the more vulnerable the price level will become, and the graver will be the danger of a violent slump that will take place when abnormal requirements come to an end. Admittedly there is no need to expect a relapse of prices to their pre-Korea level. Prices did not return to their 1914 level after the 1914-1918 war, nor did they show any inclination to return to their 1939 level after the second war. But prices may fall heavily without returning to the pre-Korea level. The present situation is different from that of 1918 or 1945. The steadily increasing supplies of consumer goods have enabled the public during the last two or three years to satisfy most overdue requirements. In fact, during recent months under the influence of the accelerated pace of the rising prices, those who could afford it have covered their requirements well in advance. The moment the consumers begin to feel that the tide has turned they are

certain to curtail their purchases in anticipation of cheaper prices.

An announcement of an agreement to relieve the international political tension would be generally regarded as a turning point of the trend of prices. Any such agreement would necessarily contain provisions for a limitation of armaments, and possibly even for actual disarmament. This would mean that buying for rearmament and stockpiling would cease overnight, which fact alone would be sufficient to produce a reaction in the markets. It would then be found that supplies of scarce raw materials are not, after all, nearly as scarce as is believed. Supplies from many unexpected directions would be thrown on the market, and prices would tumble.

It may be objected that nobody could possibly take it seriously if Moscow and Peking consented to sign a scrap of paper, and that, even if rearmament and stockpiling were suspended, everybody would be convinced that the improvement would not last. It is arguable that a return of the international tension, and with it the rearmament race, would be widely anticipated. In reality, the longing for peace in democratic countries is so strong that most people would wish to believe, against their better judgment, that " this is peace in our time." It would then become politically and psychologically impossible for the Governments of the democratic countries to continue piling up arms and strategic materials, apart altogether from any provisions in the agreement preventing them. Parliaments, depending on popular vote, would not be able or willing to approve any further expenditure for that purpose. Even those who could not believe in the possibility of permanent improvement would expect the interruption of the armament race to last at any rate for some time. They would act on this belief by liquidating any supplies which are not needed in the immediate future.

Industrial firms who hold raw materials acquired at high prices would suffer heavy losses. So would commercial firms holding stocks of manufactures produced with the aid of high-priced raw materials. They would abstain from replenishing their stocks, and demand would fall. Unemployment would rear its head. If the slump is allowed to take its course, it might produce a very ugly situation. It would breed widespread misery amidst which many people would look back on our days of rising prices as a time when they did not know how well off they were. The discontent generated would provide subversive elements with good opportunities to exploit the grievances of the victims of the slump.

The rulers of the Kremlin are no doubt fully aware of these possibilities. They are sufficiently Machiavellian to realize the possible economic consequences of a settlement with the western powers. Admittedly at present the chances of an agreement to relieve the tension and bring the cold war to an end do not appear

very bright. The Foreign Ministers' Deputies in Paris do not appear to be making any progress even towards an agreement on the agenda for the meeting of Foreign Ministers. But it would be a mistake to rule out the possibility of a change in the Russian attitude. Marshal Stalin and his advisors are reasonably aware that a suspension or reversal of the rearmament race would provoke a slump in the democratic countries. And there is nothing they would like better than a slump that might go a very long way towards facilitating the bloodless victory of Communist imperialism.

Ever since the end of the war it has been the duty of every Russian writer on the subject to forecast such a slump as an absolute certainty. Although the years passed without bringing anything worse than a trade recession in the United States or a convertibility crisis or a devaluation crisis in Britain, the true believers in dialectical materialism were still convinced that the major slump was imminent. Anybody who dared to express any doubt was denounced as a western sympathiser. There was, in fact, only one economist in the Soviet Union who had both the intelligence to realize and the courage to state openly, between 1945 and 1949, that there was no likelihood of a slump in the west. He was Professor Varga. His position was sufficiently strong, and his prestige sufficiently high, to safeguard him against anything worse than dismissal from the academic post he had occupied. Even he was forced to recant, however, early in 1949, when the slight trade recession witnessed in the United States and the dollar crisis in Britain strengthened the hands of those who based their policies on their belief in the imminence of a slump.

Conceivably civilization is indebted to this wishful thinking. The rulers of Moscow, if they had not been so convinced that the slump would help them to achieve world domination without having to fight for it, might perhaps have decided to risk a third war. Perhaps it is due to the hope that the much-delayed slump could be helped to arrive, after all, as a result of an agreement to limit armaments, that Moscow hesitates in backing the Chinese in North Korea on a really large scale. Conceivably the Kremlin is marking time, hoping that the longer an agreement is delayed the higher our prices and the sharper our slump.

However this may be, if and when the Russian negotiators change front, the democratic statesmen would have no choice but to seize upon any conciliatory gesture, irrespective of the mental reservations and after-thoughts the Russian statesmen may have behind their offer of a settlement. Even if we were certain that the settlement meant a grave economic crisis we should have no choice but to accept it irrespective of its consequences. After all, even the gravest slump is preferable to another world war. It would be politically and morally impossible to refuse to sign even if we were certain that the

agreement would be worth no more than the scrap of paper Chamberlain brought back from Munich. It is true, in agreeing to disarmament, or to a limitation of armaments in the absence of a genuine change of mind in Russia, we should expose ourselves to the risk of intensified subversive activity as a result of the discontent caused by the slump. But even that risk would be preferable to a war. Besides, it would be possible for us to reduce the risk by adopting the necessary measures to moderate the slump when it comes.

This is why it is essential that those responsible for the shaping of our economic policies should realize in time the possibility of a slump. In spite of their preoccupation with the problems of inflation they should find time for studying well in advance the measures needed in order to check it before it spells disaster. To begin with, it is essential to decide that the slump must be checked instead of welcoming it as a relief from the inflationary pressure. The popular line will be to allow prices to fall to the lowest possible level. The layman can hardly be blamed if he were to expect his Government to follow such a policy. But experts, statesmen and administrators ought to know better. To some extent the fall could and should be allowed to take its course. But a halt must be called before it has assumed such dimensions as to cause wholesale bankruptcies and large-scale unemployment. This in spite of the unpopularity of any official resistance to the fall in prices.

A single Government would not be in a position to hold up the avalanche of falling prices. Close co-operation among a number of Governments would be needed. It is for this reason that timely decision is so important. For while it is just conceivable that any one Government might be able to make up its mind at once when the emergency arises, and to follow up its decision by immediate action, any concerted action of a number of Governments inevitably requires time. In this respect the lessons of the experience with the efforts to co-operate in order to relieve the scarcity of raw materials and to check the rise in their prices are conclusive. The idea was born when Mr. Attlee paid a visit to President Truman in December 1950 and up to the time of writing in April 1951 nothing worth while has been accomplished. If any concerted action to stem the fall of prices should proceed at the same pace the slump would attain disastrous dimensions before any international action is taken.

The only way to moderate the slump would be by an agreement under which all participating Governments not only abstain from liquidating their stockpiles but acquire further large quantities of key materials thrown on the market. Admittedly, it would be politically impossible to add to the stockpiles as such. To do so would be regarded as acts of rearmament, contrary to the principles of the limitation of armaments. But there should be nothing to

prevent any Government from accumulating stocks of non-perishable commodities, or commodities the stocks of which could be turned over without material loss, for the purpose of constituting monetary reserves in addition to their gold and foreign exchange reserves. Some of us advocated such a system long before the war. Recent experience has provided ample justification for its adoption. During 1950 the British Government was so keen on accumulating a large gold reserve that it allowed essential commodity supplies to become depleted in order to reduce spending dollars and other currencies on commodity imports. When the scarcity of raw materials began to make itself felt towards the end of 1950 and the beginning of 1951 everybody realized that it would have been wiser to accumulate the monetary reserve in the form of copper, zinc, sulphur, iron ore, and so on, instead of gold. After all, the building up of a large gold reserve is not an end but merely a means of securing the financial reserves with the aid of which it is possible to import essential raw materials.

The adoption of the system of acquiring and holding monetary reserves in the form of essential commodities could be greatly facilitated if the International Monetary Fund were to pass a resolution in favour of this and if it were to modify its regulations in order to encourage the adoption of the system. There are doubtless many difficult technical problems that would require attention. Provision would have to be made to meet losses arising from a depreciation of the commodity reserves. But then the same is true concerning stock piling and every form of Government bulk-purchasing.

Besides trying to check the slump with the aid of Government purchases, other measures deserve attention. Most important among them is to time capital investments so as to ensure that they should reduce the slump instead of contributing towards the present inflation. For years the Government has been urged from various quarters to scale down its over-ambitious programme of public investment and to discourage private investment, unless they serve absolutely essential productive purposes. Even before the beginning of rearmament and of the boom in raw materials it was a mistake to proceed with capital investment on a large scale during a period of over-full employment. The Government should now call a halt, and defer all but the most urgent schemes until after the tide of prices has turned. The decline in the demand for civilian consumer goods would then make it possible to proceed with capital investment on a really large scale without interfering with the production of consumer goods. The adoption of carefully prepared investment programmes would go a long way towards moderating the slump.

The case for adopting this course is all the stronger as shortages of raw materials and rearmament requirements will tend in any case

to limit the possible extent of capital investment. Nevertheless, many schemes are proceeded with on the ground that in the long run they will justify themselves by increasing the current output. This argument reckons without the scarcity of raw materials. Unless and until that scarcity can be overcome an increase of productive capacity would not lead to an increase of output.

There are doubtless many other devices which could help towards resisting the slump when it comes. What matters is that the democratic Governments should settle down individually and collectively to work out these devices without delay. The only known step in the right direction is an attempt of the International Chamber of Commerce to elaborate a plan to deal with the slump. The commodity groups created in Washington for dealing with the rise and scarcity in raw materials might be used for the elaboration of methods to fight also the opposite danger. The western democracies cannot afford to repeat the slump of the 'thirties. In the interests of survival they must prepare for such a slump before it is too late.

(*Dr. Einzig is political correspondent of the* Financial Times *and the author of many economic works.*)

THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS STUDENTS

By Walter James

UNIVERSITIES should be viewed primarily as places where people who will one day run the country finish their education. This has not always been so. Two hundred years ago, or perhaps even only 100 years ago, a great Whig family was able of itself to provide the gist of such an education for its younger members. To-day only the university is left to do this. It is the grandest and most spacious environment that a young man or woman has met. It offers company so rare that only the best of the extinct Whig households could have kept up with it. Its travelling scholarships and bursaries are the modern key to the grand tour. There are many, of course, at universities who can in no way be described as future runners of their country. Many schoolmasters, rank and file scientific workers, dentists and minor technologists are being educated at the university ; they will sustain society but hardly lead it. Naturally there is a responsibility towards these people, but it is not to be thought of as the main responsibility of the university. In the same way a grammar school is not filled with university candidates, yet the grammar school's main responsibility is towards those who are. The great educational danger of an egalitarian age is the neglect of the gifted, in the theory that the gifted should anyway be able to look after themselves. On the contrary, it could be argued that the gifted are more damageable by neglect and wrong handling than any other class. Fortunately, there is no need to fear that giving chief thought to the outstanding student is likely to harm the middling majority. They are not harmed by studying at tables prepared with the best in mind ; they will come along in their own time, having gathered much that is useful and good, as do young farmers-to-be in country grammar schools.

Walking part of the way with Ortega y Gasset and suggesting that the main business of universities is to educate men and women to become good politicians, business managers, directors of education heads of scientific committees, ought not to make us decry, as Ortega seems to do, the importance of university scholarship and research. It has a place right within the university and not merely on its periphery. A university teacher's first concern is to prepare the nation's ablest young men and women to cut a good figure in life.

This sums up the English nineteenth century tradition as expressed through Oxford and Cambridge. On the other hand, the German idea of a university with its emphasis on research added a new factor of importance. Knowledge should be extended and it is a convenience that this should take place within the university, and not out of it as in the eighteenth century, because research is a good second-string to the teacher's bow. Education by itself, a giving out without a taking in, does not inevitably rot the mind, but it tends to do so. We should be warned by some, though not all, middle-aged schoolmasters. The teacher's own research seems to support his teaching, and research is a great part, though not the greatest part, of the university teacher's duty. The greatest part of his duty is education.

The main objects of this education are two. First a student must be led towards proficiency in the skill he will exercise in life ; he will pursue some studies with special thoroughness. Secondly, the student must be educated in means conducive to the successful application of that knowledge. As much as possible, he must be made at home in the world. He must be given an understanding of his society and the people who make it up. He must be able to write and say effectively whatever he may wish to communicate, and he must be at ease with his fellows, catching their thoughts and making his own clear.

It is in the second main object of education that we come nearest failure. Reform begins in the school, but the university is primarily responsible for the reform being made. Let us think especially of the scientist who has the character, interest and ambition which one day will take him out of the laboratory on to the board of management or into the chairmanship of a committee, say, responsible for some aspect of national defence. We might describe him as the administrative scientist. We choose the scientist and technologist for chief consideration because they are new men, increasingly important in the conduct of great affairs.

A man who governs needs to have the widest possible knowledge of the traditions, ideas and beliefs that move a people. This is so because a governor needs to have the power of getting instantly into touch with his fellow men. Easy understanding is a great part of his trade. This aptitude will come most conveniently from history, philosophy and literature. It may be thought that this is just one more attempt at denigrating science. It is not meant to be so. It should be fairly clear that although science provides a most valuable training in logical thought, it has little content that bears on the traditions, ideas and beliefs that move a people. It is an admirable method and discipline which does not contain enough within itself for the full education of a governor. One must concede that the

total ignorance of science among many products of the arts faculties is deplorable enough. It is however not so dangerous as the absence of an arts background in a scientist, because that lack cuts a scientist off from his fellow men.

Consider the importance of stories and poems that for a long time have moulded the standards and values of society. There is no doubt that the debates in Thucydides have had their part in forming the British attitude to government. Furthermore they yield, as far as any book can, an understanding of government in the western manner, and the various types of people engaged in it. History, and Thucydides is only an example, contains much that every western man should know. There is no need for this necessary background to be given to scientists at the universities. It is, however, for the universities to make sure that it is painted in at school.

It is not enough to devote a period a week at school to studying a book of Thucydides or a dialogue of Plato. That is neither history nor philosophy; it is a smattering. If anything is to be done about ancient Greece at all, it requires a settled course covering history, art and religion ; if this is stiff enough it should provide the solid background that is necessary. The Platonic dialogues can then be understood in their contexts. There is no real loss in studying the classics in translation ; the harm is only when the translations are read on one afternoon a week. Another knowledge, important when it comes to understanding a people is their religion, which for us means Christianity. Its doctrines are important as are also the various social forms the Christian religion has taken. This is again an admirable subject of sixth form study. But to have any value it cannot be advantageously pursued without a time-consuming attempt to be thorough. History, religion and literature, when expansively taught, supply as much as subjects can of the background a leader of men should possess. Communication is a great part of the art of governing, and successful communication depends on having an instinctive grasp of what is already in people's minds generally. For success in the art of making bells ring you must know where the bells are. In spite of the importance of the natural sciences, they convey little help in this particular direction.

The danger of a strictly scientific education is partly that by its practice of arranging its subject matter according to the rules of reasoning it excludes the element of feeling and emotion with which the world that has to be governed is full. It is impossible to study history or literature without recognizing the part that emotion plays, or the sheer weight of tradition. History is a " carrier subject " ; when well taught it carries in itself the elements of a nation's morality, its customs, its basic attitude to life. Science can be made to carry such things only with far greater difficulty ; as commonly taught it

carries such things not at all. This is not to say that the study of science is without moral effect. There is a discipline of the laboratory, of the research team, of the experiment. Science demands sacrifice, even from its youngest servants. But the danger of unalloyed science as a factor in the education of governors is the danger of too much logic. It is essential to sound education that reason should always be chastened by calling to mind the power in this world of emotion and habit.

Much of this argument applies more to school education than to universities. It must be maintained, however, that universities are wholly responsible for the standards and content of the education given in the schools preparing for them. The criticism of over-specialization is of long standing—Matthew Arnold was much given to making it—and it is now universally admitted to be valid. Even so, remarkably little is done to remedy over-specialization at school, particularly by the universities. Actually the universities themselves are the proper places for specialization. The charge against them is not that they go in for specialization themselves, instead of organizing general courses, but that they have permitted too much specialization in schools. It is right to uphold a high doctrine of the universities. Some say that the schools should be left free to develop for themselves the kind of education that is good at their level. This is disputable. It is for the universities, after taking much and careful thought, to influence to a high degree the syllabus of schools preparing for them. If this is granted, what should the universities require ? English universities, when considering the sort of student they want the schools to send them might well look into the results of the old Continental practice. Many of us must have met the *emigré* scientist who, until 18, has studied at his gymnasium Latin, Greek, modern languages, history and geography, as well as his maths, chemistry and physics. Even in England we have the scientist or technologist who happens by some odd chance to have been a classic until he reached the university. Some at least of the products of this broad and thorough-going school education are better than what our own system commonly turns out ; you have more cultivated scientists, men more in touch with their fellows. There is no need to have the same subjects as the Continental gymnasium, but there should be the same spread, the same breadth of study.

Modern experiments in general studies in sixth forms do not go far enough. All the real slogging work, the discipline and the endeavour, are devoted to the specialism. It would be widely different if universities in their entrance examinations demanded evidence of close study in Greek history say, from a scientist, and in science from a classic. It is true that any movement towards the old Continental syllabus in the grammar schools would mean that less science was

done at school, and we know that scientific knowledge is vastly increasing. A wider range of studies between 15 and 18 at school implies four-year university courses. This would necessitate in its turn reduction in the size of the university population—a not undesirable change, seeing that, with good selection, a lowering of numbers would bring a raising of quality.

University education is for those who in different ways will take command. While studies are relevant to this future, they are not the whole part of university education. Communication, the art of dealing with men, is a social gift and a great part of university education should be social in character. The advantage of Oxford and Cambridge in 1900, much diminished to-day, was the mixing on terms of easy familiarity between dons and undergraduates. This happened usually in small groups at breakfasts and dinners, on walks and reading parties. Dons were in close touch with the world of affairs and senior common rooms were places of entertainment for famous men. The company of men whose wisdom drawn from study has been sharpened by much converse with active men is a precious preparation for young men soon to go out into the world themselves.

The appearance of the married don is a lamentable phenomenon, which has gravely harmed the ancient universities. This social change has to be accepted and probably the way to get the best of both the new and the old worlds is to build married quarters into colleges and in residential halls as well. It is one of the most important characteristics of the British academic tradition that teachers and taught should live together.

There was an interesting sidelight on its value given by recent events in Germany. As is well known the gulf between professors and students in Germany was commonly great. After this last war, however, the very severe conditions under which students lived, their lack of food and decent accommodation, led professors generally to make it a rule to have a number of students living in their houses and eating at their tables. All reports suggest that students greatly profited from this closer association with their teachers. Unfortunately the return of better living conditions for students has removed the need for their professors' hospitality and there has been some return, lamented by the students, to the old separation.

In many of our universities this social responsibility is not taken seriously enough. Of course, low salaries make entertainment difficult, but the lack of social mixing between dons and students springs more in all probability from the absence of a true corporate life at college or hostel level. The modern universities, as they build more hostels, should decentralize themselves to some extent and give their hostels the status and some of the constitutional rights of a college in an ancient university. If you wish a hostel to develop a

family and corporate life it is necessary to give it a dignity and independence of its own. Lodging in hostels, as they come to be built, should be made a condition of university appointment. It is a sad thing when a hostel warden is chosen for showing capacity as a welfare officer ; he should be a scholar.

All these proposals cost money. A broader schoool education, demanding an extra year at the university, is a great expense to the State. Hostels are extraordinarily expensive. A don who is really going to set about having students to dinner needs money for servants, food and wine ; he requires a larger stipend or at the least an expense sheet. Universities are worth spending money on. But their student numbers might be reduced and more money spent on fewer students. At present the universities are in danger of slipping into being the educators of society's middle men. They would do better to concentrate on the few of greatest promise. There are many other institutions, training colleges and technical colleges, which, if reformed and improved, can turn out the middle men. But in spite of the difficulty of choosing good material, universities should try to reserve themselves for the eminent task of polishing diamonds. A certain luxury and leisure is essential to their being.

There should be an atmosphere of privilege about a university. That is perhaps not a very popular thing in these days, but at least membership of a university is now earned, not bought. There is the subtle business of setting standards of behaviour. It is extremely difficult and easiest in communities that have hung together for many generations. But we ought to address ourselves to the question of how students from the start might be brought to realize that they are men and women who are going to act before the public eye. The attitude of university servants, the atmosphere of student refectories, and the service at them, are all deserving of careful thought. It is true that the making of subtle changes in these things cannot be done in a day. The trouble is that at present extremely little attention of any kind seems to be given to them.

The change from an atmosphere of privilege at a university to the first job is apt to be abrupt. Many to-day must be feeling that it takes a lifetime at least to recover the standard of living we enjoyed at our universities. It might seem rather absurd to produce an atmosphere of privilege and have it so quickly dispersed. Nevertheless the taste of privilege, the encouragement of the idea that students are born to the purple and that it is only their own weakness if they do not attain it, is something that will remain through sometimes extremely discouraging circumstances. It is an incentive that is supplied for life. And it is a good thing that able men should struggle fairly their life long for mastery in their several fields, for out of this struggle the nation selects its leading men.

THE THIRD YEAR OF ISRAEL

By Norman Bentwich

IN December 1950, the 500,000th immigrant to enter Israel was registered since the declaration of the State. That policy of ingathering of the exiles is a most striking achievement, and the more remarkable when we remember that, at the moment of the Declaration of Independence, the Jewish population of Palestine was between 600,000 and 650,000, and that the total Jewish immigration during the 30 years of the British Mandate, 1918-1948, was under half a million. Last year the legislature, the *Knesset*, which was elected in January 1949, as a constituent assembly but has become in practice a single chamber parliament, passed the Law of the Return, confirming the right of every Jew to immigrate in Israel. The national home must be a home for all who want to come ; an immigrant visa shall be issued to any Jew desiring to settle unless the Minister of Immigration is satisfied that the applicant has acted against the Jewish nation, or is a danger to public health or the security of the State.

The inflow in 1949 approached a quarter of a million ; in 1950 it fell to 170,000 : it is expected to rise in the current year to 180,000. A notable change is taking place in the type of immigrant. While in the first two years of the State, as in the Mandate period, far the greater part came from eastern and central Europe, in the latest period the proportion coming from the Oriental communities has equalled, and then surpassed, the other. The Orient in this sense includes all of North Africa and Asia ; stretching from Morocco in the west to China in the east, and from Turkey and Kurdestan in the north to Yemen and Aden in the south. The whole of the most ancient community of the dispersion, 60,000 of the Yemen, has been transported by the air operation " Magic Carpet ", and now the larger community in Iraq is in process of being transported similarly. Oriental Jewry, undisturbed for a thousand years, on the one hand finds itself insecure in its dispersion and, on the other, believes that the Messianic Day has come.

The mass of the newcomers are quickly absorbed, although conditions of life for a great part are hard and rough. One quarter of them are regularly placed in agricultural settlements which have multiplied in all parts of the land at a rate of 150 a year. To-day there are 650 rural communities in Israel. The bulk of the people

however, are in the towns : Tel Aviv, which with Jaffa and a group of neighbouring townships has grown to a conurbation exceeding half a million people ; Haifa, with over 150,000 Jews, and Jerusalem with 130,000. They are engaged in industry of every kind. At one time a fifth of the newcomers were living in tented or hutted camps without any regular work, and maintained by the State till they could be distributed to employment. Last year a novel device was introduced in order to reduce this burden and to secure a more rapid integration. Working villages of prefabricated huts, of wood or aluminium, were erected near the highways, and here some 60,000 of the newly-arrived have their temporary habitation. The able-bodied men work three or four days in the week in road-making and afforestation, drainage works and similar forms of unskilled labour. They receive a wage at the trade union rate which, at our values, is extraordinarily high, a minimum of £1 1s. 2d. a day—but the purchasing value of the Israel pound is less than half that of the pound sterling. The employer is either the Jewish National Fund or the Jewish Agency or the Public Works Department of the State. That combination is symbolic of the practical partnership between the State of Israel and the bodies which represent, and draw their funds from, the Jews of the rest of the world. The transit hamlets, *Ma'abarot* as they are called, are a stage between the reception camps and the permanent urban or rural establishment. The practice is to take the single men and the small families straight to these places from the port. The camps are reserved for the larger families, the aged and the social cases.

The economic position of Israel would be desperate on any rational or orthodox calculation. The State was certainly not born with a silver spoon. The reception each year of an immigration that represents between a fifth and a quarter of the existing Jewish population, and arrives almost entirely without means, would put an immense strain on any country. When it is borne by a State, which is still recovering from the blows of the war of independence, has not been able to make peace with any of its neighbours, lives with them in the relation of uneasy and sometimes hostile armistice, has therefore to maintain large armed forces in a state of perpetual preparedness and at the same time is cut off from its principal and nearest markets by boycott and blockade, the survival seems to be a perpetual miracle. It has been said that the only realism in Israel is to believe in continuing miracles.

The adverse balance of payments, or—in other words—the discrepancy between exports and imports is dangerously great ; some 20 millions of Israel pounds on the one side and 80 millions on the other. It is bridged partly by the gifts to Israel of the Jewish people, testifying to the sense of solidarity in building up the National home,

partly by loans of the Export & Import Bank of the U.S.A., partly by the release by the British Government of the greater part of the sterling balances of Palestine from the period of the 1939-1945 war, partly by capital investment of Jews and non-Jews in the land of promise. The Export & Import Bank has made a loan of a hundred million dollars for industrial development, and recently undertook to lend an additional 35 million for agricultural development. The Government of Israel, in order to put its development budget on a surer footing, decided last summer on a bond issue of one billion dollars, of which half, it is hoped, will be raised in the course of three years in the United States, and the rest will be distributed between Israel itself and other countries with considerable Jewish communities. The normal working budget of the State is covered by the current taxation, which is about as high as taxation in England. The Government exercise a strict and growing control over every form of consumption ; food, clothing, furniture are as severely rationed as in England in the crisis of the war, and the grant of foreign currency is most severely limited so far as the Government can effect it. So much for the economic problems and prospects.

Politically, the external situation. in its most important aspect of peacemaking with the neighbouring States, has not radically improved since the armistice agreements with the Arab nations were adopted in the first half of 1949. Expectations which were then entertained for an early negotiation of terms of peace have not been fulfilled. The various efforts of the United Nations towards conciliation have not helped. On the other hand, Israel's relations to the United Nations and to the big powers have been stabilized. She was admitted as a member of the United Nations in May 1949. She has been recognized *de jure* by the four big powers, by India and most of the other members of the United Nations, except of course the Arab States. Her delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations has shown itself resourceful, not only in regard to the Middle East but perhaps even more over the tense crisis of the Far East. Her initiative in putting forward peace proposals between the powers and China attracted a most favourable response, and she is numbered with India and Turkey among the links of the west and the east.

The position of Jerusalem remains anxious and unsettled. In December 1948 and in December 1949 the General Assembly reiterated its resolution of 1947—that laid the foundation of the Independent State of Israel—in favour of an international régime for the Holy City, or rather for a Greater Jerusalem which comprised the old and the new city and an area around them including Bethlehem. The resolution expressed the concern of many States, particularly the Roman Catholic countries, for the international guardianship of the holy places in Jerusalem. But it went far beyond what was

required for that religious care. Meantime Jordan, the enlarged Arab kingdom of Abdullah, which, since the beginning of 1950, has included the Arab part of western Palestine, had established administration over the Old City ; and Israel since 1948 had established her administration over the New City. In order to make her own position manifest and to satisfy the deep yearning of her people, Israel declared Jerusalem the capital of the State immediately after the United Nation's challenge in 1949. She in fact moved the seat of the legislature and most of the Government departments from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The faith is strong in the *fait accompli*. The two States most concerned made it, then, abundantly clear that they would have no truck with an international administration of their part or the whole, though both were willing to accept a High Commissioner of the United Nations to assure the rights of all religious communities in the holy places. Great Britain and the United States, and, after some strong action the other way, the Soviet Union recognized the essential facts, and therefore did not support the majority resolution about Jerusalem in 1949. At the last Assembly in December 1950 a resolution designed to keep alive the former decision did not receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

Internally, the progress of democratic government in Israel has won the appreciation of the western democracies. It has given Israel a régime which, compared with any other Middle Eastern State is remarkably stable. A Provisional Council of Government was set up in May 1948, following the declaration of independence, to carry on administration and to defend the State. It gave way in January 1949 to a democratic Assembly, elected by adult suffrage of the Jewish and Arab inhabitants. And, while a coalition Government was the inevitable result of the system of proportional representation, a working majority was obtained by the predominant *Mapai* (the Central Labour Party) with the religious bloc containing both left and right elements, and with two small groups, the Progressive or Liberals, and the *Sephardim*, that is, the oriental Jews. The coalition held together till this February, despite temporary crises which arose from the demands of the religious party. But the two main elements have fallen out over the question of religious education in the immigrant camps. And preparations are being made for a new electoral register to comprise the 400,000 newcomers ; and a fresh general election will probably be held in the summer. Meantime the Prime Minister, D. Ben-Gurion, will carry on with a caretaker cabinet.

During the two years the legislature has not only dealt with urgent needs of taxation and the measures for absorbing immigrants, but has enacted some major reforms. Notable among them are the law for compulsory free elementary education—Israel is the first State in the Middle East to attain that goal—and the law of national

service, which requires every young man and woman to give two years to military or other public service. These measures are the main instruments of integration. Israel, it is said, is not a melting pot but a pressure-cooker of the varied elements of the Jewish people gathered from every part of the world.

The record of local government is less happy. Elections were held in December last throughout the country for municipal and local councils, and were conducted on the same intense party basis as those for the Legislative Assembly two years earlier. The voting system of *scrutin de liste* had been adopted in the Mandate period for the purely Jewish municipal council of Tel Aviv, and was now applied everywhere. The results were perplexing. In the three big towns a definite swing to the right was manifest, and Labour lost its pride of place. It was clear that to obtain a working majority, in local as in central Government, there must be a coalition. The public were not prepared for what followed. Weeks of hard bargaining took place between the parties as to the filling of the mayoral and vice-mayoral places. The mayoralty of Jerusalem was bandied against a mayoral place elsewhere, and persons who did not figure at all in the list of candidates were foisted in. The system of proportional representation in this peculiar form was discredited. That may lead to a healthy overhaul of the ingenious electoral device, introduced from eastern Europe, which seems aptly calculated to prevent effective administration.

Arab relations are an unresolved problem of the young republic. They are also double : external and internal. The external concerns the 800,000 refugees from the territory of Israel, of whom nearly half a million are living—somehow—within the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The number corresponds very closely with that of the Jewish immigrants who have entered Israel. The internal problem concerns the 180,000 Arabs, mostly *fellaheen* (cultivators) and nearly one-third of them Christians, who are living in Israel. These enjoy in law equal rights with the Jews ; they vote in central and local elections ; they are represented in the Assembly by three members one of them a Communist ; they have their schools maintained by the State, and their religious courts for matters of personal status. But the difficulties about the recovery of their land are not yet settled and the continuation of military administration in the frontier areas involves hardship. The Israel Government have repeatedly affirmed that they recognize responsibility for payment of compensation for the lands of the Arab masses who fled, and have affirmed their desire to take part in the re-settlement which the Economic Commission of the United Nations in 1949 recognized as the realistic approach to a grave human tragedy. That would not exclude re-admission of a fraction of the refugees, particularly with a view to uniting

families that are now divided. But it would exclude any mass return, which the occupation of the soil by Jewish immigrants rules out. The re-settlement must be achieved mainly in those Arab territories in which the bulk of the fugitives have found shelter. Till it is seriously undertaken, there will be no peace, or will to peace, in the Middle East.

Israel has another fundamental problem of international relations, which concerns every small State, whether in western Europe or in the Middle East : how a Lilliputian can maintain neutrality in a world divided between two contending giants. The problem is the more acute because the predominant Labour party is passionately divided between the Mapai majority, that looks for economic and every other form of help to the western democracies, and the Mapam minority, commanding the adhesion of a large part of the idealist youth, which takes its principles from the revolutionary, social and economic democracies of the peoples. The conflict is unresolved, and it requires the intellectual agility of the most intelligent of governments to keep to the middle way. This paramount effort is one of the factors that has brought Israel nearer to Great Britain during the last two years, and caused the healing of the breach, the unhappy and unnatural breach, of good relations, which " Operation Chaos " at the ending of the British Mandate over Palestine had driven. England has pursued an understanding and generous policy towards Israel in political, economic and social relations ever since *de facto* recognition was granted to the State in the spring of 1949. On both sides the art of forgetting was wisely fostered. Friendly missions from Israel to England and of British parliamentary and trade union delegations to Israel have refashioned the old links. The social democracy of England has made a deep impression on the social democrats of the new State ; and the influence of English institutions, which is partly the heritage of the thirty years of the Mandate, and partly the tribute of genuine admiration, is strong in every aspect of Israel's public life.

A word should be said finally of the cultural life of Israel which no political or economic difficulties check or impair. The Hebrew renaissance accompanies the rebirth of the nation. The creation of the State has released aspirations and creative energies which make Israel, with but a tenth part of the Jewish population of the world, the intellectual and spiritual centre of the whole people. A supreme task is to Hebraize the polyglot bands of immigrants, and adult education to this end is developed in the fullest measure. One of its effective enterprises is the establishment of a score of residential colleges in the collective agricultural settlements for intellectual newcomers who follow there intensive courses in the language. Another is a college directed by Professor Martin Buber for the training of teachers to

give adult education. The Hebrew radio, named " The Voice of Israel ", is an essential instrument in the education. The press, which includes newspapers in a dozen languages in addition to Hebrew, is constantly expanding in spite of scarcity of newsprint. The output of books is undiminished in spite of the staggering high cost of printing. A hardship gravely suffered is the scarcity of foreign and English books. The Hebrew University, though exiled from its home on Mount Scopus, cut off from its main library, and wrestling with a financial crisis, has doubled the number of its students since 1949 from 1,000 to 2,000. The polytechnic at Haifa, which trains architects, engineers and other technical classes, has another 1,000 students. Scientific research is recognized as a major interest of the State, and is generously provided in the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehoboth.

Of the arts music has pride of place, for it is dear to the whole people. The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which during the winter toured the United States, counts 15,000 regular subscribers in the country, and each of its concerts has to be repeated ten times. Chamber music is as popular as the orchestra. The two dramatic companies, Habimah and Ohel, have gained more than a local reputation, and play in Hebrew some of the world's dramatic masterpieces as well as Biblical and Jewish themes. Painting and sculpture, largely of the most modern school, are cultivated in the country as well as in the towns, and artists' corners are established in a number of the agricultural communities. Perversely architecture, which, in this period of building, should be the most cherished of the amenities, is the least, so that many of the new quarters of the towns of Israel are unlovely.

Israel is a creative and constructive society brimming with faith and energy, as it is brimming with material problems and spiritual difficulties. The principle of the people is to pile up the problems and let solutions take care of themselves. Man proposes, and God the Rock of Israel—to use the favourite term—disposes. It is heartening to be in a society inspired by the faith that moves man and mountains and yet is free from the spirit of fanaticism and totalitarian tyranny. For the mass of the people believe that this is their finest hour, and the hour of their nation's destiny.

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U.S.A., COMMONWEALTH AND MUSLIM WORLD

By Sir William P. Barton

FROM the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia in the Indian Ocean, and beyond through Pakistan, there stretches a broad belt of Islam, onwards to the Atlantic. Of this vast region, the most important element is the Middle East, comprising Egypt, Israel, the Sudan, Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Syria, the Lebanon and Afghanistan. Though geographically not included in the Middle East, Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaya, from the political and strategic standpoint are closely linked with the countries referred to.

From Malaya to Egypt, if we include the 35 millions of Muslims in India, Islam can claim over 200 million adherents. Not all the different countries have reached a high standard of political, economic and social development : the most advanced are Pakistan, Egypt and Turkey. Arabia, Afghanistan and Persia, despite its *Majlis* (Parliament), have hardly emerged from the feudal stage. The vagaries of demagogy in Indonesia are neutralizing the achievements of the Dutch in the economic and political fields in that country.

There has been little economic development on modern lines anywhere in the Middle East. No steel is fabricated ; no engineering works producing machinery or machine tools, except here and there on a small scale, have been set up ; no heavy plant is made, no ships built. There are some modern textile mills, and hand-looms produce a good deal of cloth, but the bulk of requirements in textiles along with the major proportion of consumer goods has to be imported. On the other hand, the region is rich in natural resources : all the countries in the group are self-supporting in food except Ceylon, Malaya and Saudi Arabia. The deficit could easily be made up from the surplus of the more fortunate. Raw cotton, hides and skins, jute, tea and rubber are exported to the west on a vast scale : Malaya produces a large proportion of the world's tin. There is a deficiency of coal but many opportunities of producing hydro-electric power to any extent required are available. The oil fields of Southern Arabia, Persia and Iraq are now the most important sources of supply in the world. They are worked under concessions from the Governments of the countries concerned by British, French and American groups. A pipe line, several hundred miles in length, has recently been built across Arabia and Iraq to Sidon in Lebanon

on the Mediterranean. Should there be a third world war, the western allies must rely on an unrestricted supply of oil from the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf. Russia needs it even more than they do : because of its oil, the fate of the world may well be decided in the Middle East.

The military potential of the countries in that region is enormous. Because of the lack of organized industry and general economic inefficiency, that potential has not been developed to any extent except in Turkey. Pakistan, it is true, has a fine army, but her differences with Afghanistan and the state of near war with India over the Kashmir issue, practically immobilizes it.

The Middle East is a key point in the world strategy of the western nations, not only because of its oil ; but because without the support of the Middle East countries the west would find it impossible to maintain communications with Australia, India, Ceylon, Pakistan and the sources of supply of essential raw materials in South-east Asia generally. Can the western nations rely on receiving that support in full measure ?

The position is, unfortunately, doubtful. A movement is in progress which has for its object the consolidating of the Muslim world ; the stirrings of Pan-Islamism are noticeable. Take as an example of what is going on in this way the Islamic Economic Conference recently held in Teheran under the auspices of the Persian Government, at which twelve Muslim Governments were represented. But the desired unity has not, as its object, to oppose Communism. most Middle Eastern countries hope to be able to maintain neutrality in the event of an outbreak of a third world war. What they want is to improve economic conditions in particular as a means of dealing with agrarian unrest. They challenge western policy, or lack of policy, where their own interests are concerned.

A view widely held among the Muslim intelligentsia is that Britain and America feel that they can rely on Muslim resistance to Communism because of the antipathy of Muslims to its atheistic leanings. As a consequence, western nations do not go out of their way to strengthen their position in the Muslim world. Political circles in Karachi resent what they regard as the obvious concern of both Britain and America to cultivate Indian friendship while making no sustained effort to keep Pakistan on their side.

A common grievance is the policy of the United Nations organization, and especially of Britain and the U.S.A., in allowing the Jew to build up a State in the heart of the Muslim world, and backed by American arms and money to drive three-quarters of a million Arab from their villages and lands. The rehabilitation of these unfortunate people, now living in conditions of incredible misery on the Israel borders, is an urgent problem. So far the western powers, who ar

regarded as morally responsible for the tragedy, have done little to reinstate the refugees.

Then take the case of Egypt. Why, Egyptians ask, should Britain continue to hold the canal zone ? What right has she to deny the Sudan to Egypt ? The growing nationalism of Iraq finds it difficult to endure the existence of British military bases in that country. In Persia the trouble comes mostly from the opposition in the *Majlis* : the Prime Minister, General Razm-Ara, is, they assert, the nominee of Britain and the U.S.A. ; they resent what they describe as American objections to the trade treaty with Russia, and doubt is expressed whether America really intends to fulfil her pledges to help re-build the economic life of the country. Nationalization of the oil industry is an ambition of this particular group. But what is disturbing opinion in the Muslim world more than anything else at the moment, is the failure of U.N. to settle the quarrel between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. For this failure, the U.S.A. and Britain are considered chiefly responsible. It is generally recognized that the dispute over this unhappy country is a standing threat to world peace to say nothing of its paralysing reactions on the economic life both of India and Pakistan. All Middle East countries, with the exception of the ruling group in Kabul, strongly support the Pakistan claim for a free and impartial plebiscite. Indonesia, though she looks to India for moral support, is on the side of Pakistan. What is regarded as British and American indifference in the matter is much resented. In Pakistan generally, there is a feeling that the Commonwealth association is hardly worth while unless its influence can settle questions of the kind between two of its members. There has, in fact, been a good deal of talk in Pakistan about leaving the Commonwealth—the Chief Minister of the Frontier Province openly advocated it before Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan went to London to the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. If U.N. fails to make a real effort to see the Kashmir question through it will forfeit the support of the Muslim world, whose faith in U.N. is already waning. In Arabian political circles, for example, damaging comparisons are drawn between the promptness with which it intervened in Korea and its obvious reluctance to press the Kashmir issue to a decision. The weakness of its reactions, to what was practically defiance from Israel, is much resented. There is another matter affecting relations between Pakistan and its neighbour, Afghanistan, with regard to which the Pakistan Government complains of the lack of support from Britain and America. It concerns the demand put forward by the Kabul Government for the setting up of an independent Pathan republic on the North-west Frontier to be designated Pakhtunistan, absorbing the country to the Indus. It is a scheme which was sponsored by the Indian Congress in 1946 with the object, Pakistanis think, of weaken-

ing the Muslim position should the British decide to partition the sub-continent. The Pathans on a plebiscite decisively rejected the proposition. It was revived by the Kabul Government when the two new Dominions came into existence. The Frontier province up to the Indus was, they claimed, Afghanistan *irredenta* ; it should be given back to the Afghans. Violent propaganda on the subject, both in the press and on the radio in Kabul, was re-echoed in Delhi ; in point of fact political circles in Karachi suspect that India is secretly supporting the movement. Is it diplomatically correct, they ask, that a self-styled *Jirgah* or political committee of a few disgruntled *emigrés* from the Frontier should be allowed to flaunt itself in Delhi as representing the Pakhtunistan movement ? Should the Afghan Ambassador to India, without protest, be allowed to proclaim to the world in the Indian capital, that his Government no longer recognized the Durand Line ? There have recently been border incidents in which Afghan troops crossed into Pakistan territory. Not without reason, it is thought in Karachi that Russia is behind the movement. The American Government, apparently alarmed at recent developments, astonished Karachi the other day by suggesting that the Pakistan and Afghan Governments should get together and try to settle their boundary disputes. Are we, Pakistanis exclaim, to be called on to defend, against an absurd claim, an international boundary recognized by Afghanistan for over half a century ? Are we to attempt to appease a Government that opposed our admission to U.N. ? All that is necessary in the view of the Karachi foreign office is that Britain and the United States should tell the Afghans firmly to drop their claim—all the better if India could be induced to act with them. Tension is increasing and prompt intervention is necessary.

The sensitiveness of Muslim world opinion in matters affecting Muslim interests is shown by the criticism directed against U.N. policy regarding Cyrenaica, Libya and Eritrea. Here again, Muslims feel that at Lake Success they do not always get the support from Britain which they are entitled to expect. What care is necessary to avoid giving offence to Muslims is shown in the criticism appearing in the Karachi press of a recent speech by President Truman in which he discussed the moral forces in the world which might be mobilized against Communism. He referred to Christianity, Buddhism and Sanskrit Hinduism (whatever that may mean) but unfortunately made no reference to Islam which, his critics point out, comes next to Christianity in the strength of its following.

No Muslim opinion that carries weight supports Communism, but if the Muslim world is to array itself against the insidious approach of the infection it must be made to feel that it has the backing of the west. To improve relations between the Commonwealth and the

Middle East countries the first essential is to win over Pakistan completely to their side. This can only be achieved by the Commonwealth and America insisting at Lake Success on a settlement of the Kashmir issue. That brought about, the two should then turn their attention to eliminating Kabul intransigencies. Much would be gained if they went further and pledged themselves to give the Pakistan Government full support in carrying out its five years' economic development plan.

Pandit Nehru, a year or so ago, announced publicly that the interests of Pakistan and India were so closely intertwined that unless the two countries stood side by side in foreign policy and defence they must inevitably perish. With the Kashmir dispute settled the main obstacle to the establishment of friendly relations would be removed and the field opened to the co-operation suggested by the Indian Prime Minister. Other problems would, in such conditions, be solved without much difficulty.

If conditions permitted, India would wish to remain neutral should the world become involved in war. This would suit Soviet strategy and the Kremlin might, at the outset, endeavour to convince both Pakistan and India that it had no quarrel with them and so ensure that they would stand aside and refrain from assisting Persia should Soviet armies thrust forward to the Persian Gulf. Their abstention would greatly facilitate the over-running of Persia by Russian armies. Could the west get adequate forces to the Gulf in time ? Once established there, Russia and its Chinese satellites could absorb India, Pakistan and South-east Asia at their leisure. In fact, the policy of neutrality on the part of India and Pakistan would be suicidal. They could best defend themselves by sending armies to Persia and helping to hold up a Russian thrust to the Persian and Arabian oil fields. Their support of the western armies would be invaluable. In any case, if Persia were invaded by Communist forces, Pakistan would feel it her duty to go to the help of a fellow Muslim country. In this connection it is believed that there has been some informal discussion between the two Governments with a view to assimilating the training and equipment of their respective air forces in case they might be called on to act together.

Winning the close friendship of Pakistan would be an immense gain to the western powers. Pakistan is regarded by Muslim countries generally as the greatest of Muslim States and as such, entitled to the leadership of the Muslim Middle East. The advice of her statesmen would carry weight with other Muslim countries. Pakistan, for example, might persuade Egypt that in present conditions she would be unwise to press her claim against Britain for the evacuation of the canal zone and for the Sudan till the foundations of world peace were firmly laid. A word of advice from Karachi to Teheran and Baghdad

would have a good effect. An improvement in relations between the Muslim powers and the west would be greatly strengthened if U.N. at the instance of the U.S.A. took a strong line in Palestine. A reference was made in an earlier paragraph to the three-quarters of a million Arab refugees driven from their country by the Jews. It is essential that these people should be rehabilitated. Israel should be responsible for providing the funds required by the measures adopted for the purpose. Is there any hope, one wonders, for the settlement of some of these outlawed Arabs on the vast areas of land to be irrigated in Iraq ? They should be welcome there as belonging to the Arab kindred. But this might involve too much delay in settling a matter of extreme urgency. A clear settlement of relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours is much to be desired. On other matters of international import in which the Muslim world is interested, the Commonwealth and the U.S.A. should take steps to ensure that Muslim opinion is given due weight at Lake Success.

The importance of the growing unity in the Arab world should not be under-estimated by western diplomacy. It is worth noting in this connection that the foreign ministers of seven Arab States met recently in Cairo to discuss the evolving of a common Arab policy towards the threatening international situation.

U.N. would regard an invasion of Persia by the Soviet as an act of aggression, and it would be opposed. America has promised military aid in defending the Arab oil fields against attack. With an atmosphere more congenial to friendly co-operation between the west and the Middle East it should be possible to induce the countries exposed to attack to prepare for self-defence. They can otherwise hardly expect assistance in the economic field. Their readiness to co-operate with the western powers in defensive preparations might well act as a deterrent to an attempt by Russia to press on to the Persian Gulf. India and Pakistan should set an example ; Pakistan should forget her grievances. An Indian army in the 1939-1945 war played an important part in protecting Persia and the oil fields against the Axis powers. Standing together as they could if the Kashmir trouble were out of the way, the armies of the two countries might ensure victory in the Middle East and so deny to Russia the oil without which she cannot hope to prevail against the west.

MOROCCO AND THE CRISIS

By Rom Landau

IF the year 1912, when the French Protectorate was established in Morocco, must be regarded as one milestone in the history of that country, the period between autumn 1950 and spring 1951 will no doubt prove to have been an equally significant landmark. The years that separate these two dates were years of world-wide upheaval, and the Moroccan question, ousted from mind and conscience by more pressing issues, was inevitably overshadowed. Thus the French came to take their Protectorate for granted ; and the Moors themselves drifted into apathy. The world at large, basing thought—or rather absence of thought—on the mechanical formula ' Morocco is a Protectorate ', forgot that the country had by no means relinquished sovereignty but had retained its own monarchy with its own king and sharifian government, or *makhzen*. The rôle of the French was specifically designed as that of guides and advisers, and they were to point the way toward reforms and general modernization.

For an understanding of the Moroccan problem it is important to remember that up to 1912 Morocco had never been occupied by a foreign power—even the Romans never succeeded in holding more than a narrow strip in the north—that for over a thousand years it has been independent, that in the Middle Ages it produced one of history's finest civilizations, and that only at the beginning of the present century did inefficiency and corruption make the establishment of a foreign Protectorate possible. In 1904 Great Britain signed a secret convention with France granting her a ' free hand ' in Morocco and in 1911 Germany followed Britain's example. When in 1912 the Sultan Moulay Hafid asked France for armed assistance against the Berber tribes ready to storm the capital, Fez, doors were flung open to the French, and their occupation of the country could begin. The Treaty of Fez of 1912 legalized their status in Morocco.

The first Resident General was Marshal Lyautey, a leader of great vision and a genuine lover of the Moors. Under his aegis insecurity and inner strife were replaced by peace and security, and the country set out eagerly on the path of modernization. The French achievement in Morocco was highly impressive, and within a mere 20 years an essentially medieval country was beginning to assume the character

of a comparatively modern and efficient one. But after Lyautey's recall in 1925 the French began to treat Morocco more and more as an annexe to their own economy, and their civil servants, financiers, farmers, industrialists, and tradesmen flocked to the Maghreb in their thousands. Inevitably French interests received priority, and the natives watched uneasily their reduction to the status of a subjected people. They had hoped that after the late war France would follow the example established by Great Britain in India, Ceylon and Burma, but the colonial régime remained as rigid as ever.

So by 1950 the *status quo* as established in 1912 was no longer regarded by the natives as an inevitable concomitant of their evolution. In fact the chorus of native discontent had been growing greater in volume and more insistent in character, and Franco-Moorish relations were reaching a critical stage.

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The sharpening into a sudden crisis of long-latent dissatisfaction can be attributed to no single event ; but the Sultan's State visit to France in October 1950 was a crucial occurrence, since it brought the whole problem into focus, and complaints were given their first public airing. The aim of the French Government was that the Sultan's visit should provide a visible affirmation of the unity existing between France and Morocco. The Sultan on his part was not disposed to identify himself with such an aim. For a long time he had been worried about French reluctance to lead his country towards its promised independence or, at least, towards an increased native participation in the conduct of Moroccan affairs. He had had to watch what he considered the transformation of Morocco into a French colony. Rightly or wrongly he believed that native advancement in education, social welfare, and so forth, was being sacrificed to French interests, and he concluded that within the existing framework of the Protectorate few of the often promised reforms could ever be introduced. A State visit to France was the right opportunity for discussing a possible revocation of the existing Protectorate treaty. The Sultan's principal justification was that since 1912 conditions had greatly changed both in Morocco and in the world at large, and, in consequence, a more up-to-date instrument should regulate Franco-Moorish relations.

Encouraged by the favourable reactions of his hosts, MM. Auriol, Pleven and Schuman, to his oral suggestions, the Sultan presented them with a written memorandum in which, with the utmost tact and a truly oriental finesse, he explained his point of view. The French statesmen, however, could not ignore the high-pressure influence which French circles in Morocco relentlessly exerted, and in their reply they limited themselves to promises of individual and long overdue reforms. But the Sultan was no stranger to half-fulfilled

promises and procrastinations, and maintained that the 38 year-old Protectorate had become too threadbare for half-hearted patching. Even if the few promised reforms were carried out, the old agreement would still be heavily biased in favour of the occupying power. A second memorandum explicitly requested a change in the *status quo*, and insisted on Morocco's right to a speedier progress toward independence. The French evaded the main issue by suggesting a mixed Franco-Moorish commission on proposed reforms.

This might look like defeat for Mohammed V ; in actual fact he had had no expectation of immediate success ; and it was triumph enough to have taken his stand uncompromisingly on the wide issue. It was the first time since 1912 that a ruler of Morocco had expressed his displeasure with the existing treaty and his country's desire for actual and not merely symbolic sovereignty. Thus his *démarche* in Paris represented a revolutionary event in the modern history of Morocco where, indeed, on his return he was greeted by his people with enthusiasm.

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The question of independence and of politics in general—a question that the French had always tried to suppress by rigid censorship and by other means—had now come into the open. Since the Sultan himself had raised it officially, the nationalists, and especially the Istiqlal party, felt that the moment had come for blunter language.

There followed a number of incidents, each one of which represented something utterly new in the history of the formerly courteous and peaceful Franco-Moorish exchanges. The first bomb exploded during the December session of the *Conseil du Gouvernement* at Rabat, when some of the nationalist leaders strongly criticized the existing régime, and General Juin, the Resident General, evicted all the nationalist deputies from the Chamber. However disturbing this incident in itself, the factor which raised it to the status of a major affair was that as soon as the evicted deputies had left the Chamber, the Sultan received them in official audience, thus demonstrating openly that he identified himself with the views of the dissentients. For the first time the split between the *Résidence* and the Palace could no longer be kept hidden from the outside world.

The French could not attack the Sultan openly—he is not only the legally appointed secular leader, originally chosen by the French themselves, but also a Sharif and his people's spiritual head. They were, however, determined to publish their displeasure, and for that purpose employed the one native notable who is opposed to his king, powerful, and violently pro-French, namely Thami el Glaoui, Pasha of Marraksh. A typical feudal *grand seigneur*, he has repeatedly had to seek French assistance to tide him over difficulties caused by his extravagant mode of living. A man whose pride is matched only by

his despotism, he had for some time past resented the growing popularity and democratic tendencies of the Sultan. Throughout native history powerful pashas used to oppose themselves to the central authority as represented by successive rulers, and in that process made a unification and pacification of the country well nigh impossible. To prevent too marked a consolidation of the sharifian power, the French themselves have found it convenient to strengthen Moorish feudalism as symbolized by the Glaoui.

Frictions had existed between the Pasha and the Palace in the past, but the rifts were never of a fundamental nature. But the part assigned to him by his masters at the end of 1950 was to be more spectacular than any he had played in the past. On the occasion of the *Mouloud*, or anniversary of the Prophet's birthday, the Pasha appeared before his king in the somewhat unexpected rôle of a defender of the faith and of traditional Moorish morality. He accused the nationalists, with whom the Sultan was making common cause, of being antagonistic to Islam and of co-operating with the Communists. In reply to the Pasha's affront, the Sultan forbade him to enter the precincts of the imperial palace without special permission.

The French press took up the accusations of nationalist atheism and pro-Communism with martial vehemence, and since news of Moorish events is invariably coloured by the French channels through which, perforce, it is distributed, the world was almost persuaded that the Sultan and the nationalists were in league with the devil.

For a long time opponents of Moroccan independence had been using accusations of atheism and pro-Communism as a whip with which to chastise the nationalists. These accusations find their best reply in the official programme of the Istiqlal party which has the tacit approval of the Sultan himself. According to that programme, " the reconstruction of the country will be founded upon loyalty to Islam, to the Arab language and to the Throne." Another statement in that programme stresses the fact that the party is " against all totalitarian servitude. " The régime envisaged for an independent Morocco is a constitutional monarchy, on the British model.

If by religious and political convictions, the Istiqlal party were not so strongly anti-Communist, it could easily obtain the powerful support that the Cominform, quite apart from any action by local Communists, would be only too delighted to provide. But there is little danger of this happening, and only those utterly ignorant of the Moorish character and of Moroccan events give credence to official allegations that Moorish nationalism is anti-religious and pro-Communist.

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The failure of the Glaoui mission and the more outspoken criticism

on the part of the Istiqlal party induced General Juin early this year to try to rid himself of the " nationalist incubus " once and for all. On January 26 he called on the Sultan with proposals that amounted to an ultimatum : either the Sultan condemned solemnly the Istiqlal, dismissed all the members of the *makhzen* and the *Cabinet Impérial* known for their nationalist sympathies and signed a number of *dahirs* (decrees) that he had refused to sign before, or General Juin would depose him. When the Sultan agreed to make only minor concessions, there followed a period of intimidation and artificially produced unrest which has become known as the " crisis of 1951". French troops were brought to the gates of Rabat and Fez, the Sultan's palace was surrounded by police, and Berber tribes were encouraged to move towards the two capitals in the hope of loot. It was under these threats and the prospects of bloodshed that the Sultan was forced on February 25 to accept most of General Juin's conditions. He dismissed most of his Ministers, signed a number of outstanding *dahirs*, and published a proclamation against all parties endangering Franco-Moorish relations. He refused, however, to name the Istiqlal specifically, and even a final threat that he would be deposed could not make him change his mind. Meanwhile public opinion throughout the world—and especially in the Muslim countries —became profoundly disturbed by the Moroccan crisis, and General Juin could hardly risk putting that last threat into effect.

Throughout the anxious weeks of the crisis the Sultan proved himself a statesman of outstanding calibre : by refusing General Juin's demands originally and thus unwittingly provoking the crisis, he called the world's attention to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in his country, and by making all the concessions demanded of him except the one that mattered most, the one concerning the Istiqlal, he saved both inner peace and his own throne. Though tactically General Juin could claim to have emerged as victor from the crisis, in actual fact the Sultan's popularity increased enormously whereas that of the Protectorate régime decreased proportionally.

Unfortunately, such latent differences as might have existed between mainly urban Arabs and the predominantly rural Berbers had been deepened by the measures taken by the authorities during the crisis, and it will take many years to mend these breaches. In his proposed reforms General Juin wants to strengthen the existing Berber *djemaas*, or tribal assemblies, so that at some distant future they might form the nucleus of a national parliament. But the best educated and politically most conscious natives are not the Berbers but the Arabs ; by continuing to treat the Berbers with favouritism, emphasizing the differences between them and their Arab brothers, and disregarding native nationalism as cultivated chiefly by the Arabs, nothing

can be achieved, and national unification along democratic lines will be rendered well-nigh impossible.

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Because of Morocco's superlative strategic and potential economic importance* in the defence plans of the western democracies, peace and contentment in the Maghreb have become the concern of the entire democratic world. As the natives have not been sufficiently prepared for home rule, even the most ardent nationalists would shrink before the prospect of immediate independence, and every friend of Morocco would fear a premature end of French administration. What, then, is the solution ? Impartial observers consider that in order to establish real peace in the Maghreb, France should immediately undertake the thorough training of large numbers of natives for self-government ; should employ them far more extensively in the administration of the country (at present such participation is of a symbolic rather than actual character); and, above all, should make a definite and dated promise of independence. Moreover, the influx of Frenchmen from France, Corsica and Algeria should be stopped before Morocco really becomes a French colony.

It is the sense of political impotence, and the uncertainty as to their national future, that are so galling to Moorish patriots. Once they realize that they are competent not merely to occupy the most subordinate positions, but also to become effective heads of government departments, and once they can look forward to the day when the Protectorate will be replaced by full sovereignty, the present uneasy truce is bound to make room for more cordial relations. Even the nationalists realize that their country will need a close alliance with France and the help of French experts and advisers. They are not anti-French, but merely anti-Protectorate.

Everyone who has the well-being of both France and Morocco at heart can only hope that the political genius of France will rise to the occasion, and that the Moors, both Arab and Berber, will be transformed from potential enemies into actual friends. They ask for nothing that has not at some time been promised, and they are wearily suspicious of attempts to whittle down their principal claim into a series of minor issues. A united Morocco in which neither Arab nor Berber is treated with favouritism, and in which both are sincerely guided toward self rule within the framework of an independent, sovereign and constitutional monarchy allied to France, would be of greater value to France than a Protectorate in which the vested interests of the small French minority decide policies.

(*Mr. Rom Landau, the author of* Invitation to Morocco, *has recently returned from another long visit to Morocco.*)

*Morocco is extremely rich in mineral resources, many of which are essential to the rearmament of the western powers.

TURKEY IN TRANSITION

By David Ingber and M. Benjenk

TURKEY to-day presents the spectacle of a nation passing through a truly revolutionary transition period. In May 1950, the Democratic party took office following the first free elections ever held in that country. After 27 years of semi-dictatorial rule, the Republican People's party emerged from this contest shattered and defeated. Its traditional hold on the masses had evidently been broken despite its claims to the succession of Ataturk's 'mystique'. For Turkey a new chapter had begun.

This 'landslide' was no accident, or the substitution of one party for another. The change of government meant the advent of a new class and the eclipse of its predecessor. The Republican People's Party (RPP) had been founded by Kemal Ataturk, the architect of modern Turkey. After his death the leadership devolved on Ismet Inönü, his principal lieutenant, who had been Prime Minister for fourteen years. As President of the Republic and head of the one party in the State Inönü had had full control over both and could thus demand the resignation of the Government whenever this seemed desirable. He and most of the party's leading figures were former army chiefs who had gained prominence in the war of independence (1922-1923). After the 1939-1945 war a number of younger men found their way into the RPP. But their influence carried little weight in a party dominated by the 'Old Guard'. In 1946, a general election took place in which for the first time opposition candidates were allowed. Though the RPP secured a comfortable majority there were significant signs of a turn of the tide. Further developments only accentuated this trend, culminating in the overwhelming victory of the Democratic party in last year's general election which surprised friend and foe alike.

A comparative newcomer to the Turkish political scene, the Democratic party is essentially the mouthpiece of the business community. Under the able leadership of Celal Bayar, now Turkey's third President and a highly respected statesman, it rallied to its banner the business community opposed to Government interference and the threat of nationalization. The emergence of such an element was in itself a novelty in Turkey, where in the past trade and industry had been largely controlled by Greeks, Jews, Armenians and foreign

companies. The first nationalization schemes had been carried ou at the expense of foreign concerns. But the growing powers of State sponsored public corporations which often led to unfair competitio with private enterprise soon became anathema to the new merchan class which had sprung up in the war and post-war periods. Thi caused the Democratic party to adopt de-nationalization and reduc tions in the cost of living as the main plank of their election platform

The truism that new brooms sweep clean holds good here. Th last ten months have seen a clean break with the rigid system of one party Government. On May 22, Celal Bayar was elected Presiden of the Republic, resigning his leadership of the Democratic party t stress his impartiality as head of the State. The new Cabinet wa formed by Adnan Menderes, most of its members being new t office. Following up its election pledges, the Government ordere an immediate cut in the price of bread and sugar. State control and other forms of ' regimentation ' were discarded, national expend ture drastically pruned, and military service reduced from three t two years.

Significant reforms were initiated in a variety of fields. Th western notion of a liberal democracy is reflected in a new press la embodying full freedom of expression for all papers and periodicals Another important measure was the general amnesty, which benefite large numbers of political offenders, and the appointment of a specia committee to draft the Civil Liberties Bill making arrest illegal excep on a magistrate's warrant. Another innovation was the recognitio of the workers' right to collective bargaining. There can be litt doubt as to popular opinion of the new régime. When Presider Bayar visited Izmir and Istanbul the welcome he received bo eloquent proof of general approval. In September the Democra scored another striking victory in the municipal elections. The again the electorate returned a record number of Democrat candidate

Whoever analyses the stewardship of the Democratic party bound to conclude that it has weathered the first year of office wit appreciable success. Though much has happened in the intervenin period the Menderes Government are to-day as firmly in the saddle a they were 12 months ago. Transition inevitably brings its ow problems but on the whole transition and progress have gone hand i hand. Early in March differences of opinion arose in the Cabin resulting in its resignation. Three days later a second Mender Government included all the outgoing Ministers, except tho of agriculture, Marshall Aid and economy and commerce. Althoug this crisis was little more than a storm in a teacup, it revealed nevertheless, latent divergencies within the party. Yet it did n affect the position of the Prime Minister whose prestige among h

followers remains unimpaired. Recent weeks have also brought about a slight improvement in the relations between Government and Opposition. The premier's budget speech in the National Assembly on February 28 contained friendly overtures to the Opposition which were duly acknowledged by the RPP.

Like most countries Turkey is faced with the twin evils of inflationary trends and a rising cost of living. High prices on world markets for scarce commodities have not been without some repercussions on her economy. In recent weeks both the RPP and dissatisfied Democrats have criticized the Government for failing to impose a stricter E.P.T. coupled with measures to curb inflation. On the other hand, Turkey is playing an active part in such international bodies as the O.E.E.C. and the E.P.U. In the past year restrictions have been lifted from 60 per cent. of all imports. Thanks to her extensive trade with the U.S. in chromium (of which she is the world's chief producer), dried fruit, tobacco and various ' stockpiling' materials Turkey is assured of a sufficient dollar revenue. Furthermore, a part of her military requirements is supplied under the military aid programme while a limited allocation of Marshall Aid covers such extra needs as may arise.

Last year's change of Government involved no change in foreign policy which remains based on Turkey's traditional alliance with Britain and France and close friendship with America. The Foreign Minister is the 61-year-old Fuat Koprulu, an outstanding historian and Oriental scholar. In his first address to the National Assembly, Premier Menderes declared : " It is our greatest desire to strengthen still further the political, economic and cultural relations binding Turkey to her great friend the U.S.A. and our great allies Britain and France, in a spirit of mutual understanding."

Continuity in foreign policy is combined with industrial development at home and larger external trade. This is of particular importance to a country like Turkey where 80 per cent. of the population are directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture. Extensive plans have been worked out to improve existing land, sea and air communications, intensify home production and to provide modern machinery for industries old and new. The geographical size of Turkey, the exploitation of her vast untapped mineral resources and her rapid industrialization have made transport her most pressing need. A road construction programme is now in progress providing for 23,000 kilometres of highways within the next few years with U.S. technical assistance. In April, Diesel trains were put into service on the Ankara-Istanbul line, reducing the journey from 17 to eight hours. Among other development schemes is the £T.151,500,000 hydro-electric project at Sariyer, in north-western Anatolia, and the large-

scale cultivation of cotton particularly in the Cukurova region. Irrigation and bridge-building are to be substantially increased in the course of 1951. A notable feature of the Government's policy is concentration on what might be called small-scale and short-term projects that pay their way.

Whereas before the war Germany held pride of place in Turkey's foreign trade, America and Britain are now her main customers and suppliers, followed by Italy, Czechoslovakia, France and Switzerland. During 1948-1949 a great shortage of sterling caused the pound sterling to become as hard if not harder a currency as the dollar. No licences were granted by the Government then in office and the fact that few Turkish goods were bought by the U.K. entailed a reduction in the volume of trade between the two countries. The general improvement in Britain's balance of trade has led to more normal Turko-British trade, which has further been helped by larger inter-European trade, O.E.E.C. and the E.P.U.

Uppermost in Turkish minds is the question of defence, as it well might be. It is generally accepted that should another conflict occur Turkey could not remain neutral as in the 1939-1945 war. A country with 1,633 miles of frontiers, 366 of them with Russia and 125 with Bulgaria, Turkey has a dual rôle to play. Though western in outlook and policy she is also the guardian of the Straits and as such a Middle-Eastern power with interests in two continents.

Whereas before the war Turkish-Soviet relations had been on the whole friendly and correct, they fast deteriorated shortly afterwards. In 1945, Russia's refusal to renew the 20-year Soviet-Turkish friendship pact was followed by a demand for joint control of the Dardanelles. Apart from being wholly unacceptable to the Turks this would have involved revising the Montreux Convention which Russia had signed along with eight other powers. To complicate matters Moscow insisted on bi-lateral talks to the exclusion of her co-signatories. Since then a ceaseless flow of propaganda has been directed against Turkey by the Soviet and satellite press and radios. A glaring example of ' pressure by proxy ' was Bulgaria's decision last December to expel the 250,000-strong Turkish minority from that country. The only effect of Communist threats has been to stiffen Turkey's resolve to resist. As a result she has had to keep large forces permanently mobilized, a liability absorbing nearly half the national budget.

In recent years American economic and military aid have gone a long way to consolidate Turkey's position. Events abroad have intensified the desire to see her included in the Atlantic pact. Last year's decision of the N.A.T.O. powers to admit Turkey as an " associate " caused widespread disillusionment. Would not the

better plan, it was asked, be to include Turkey as " an Atlantic power with a difference " ? There is also considerable support for a possible " Balkan Entente " of Ankara-Athens-Belgrade as an adjunct to the Atlantic pact proper. Whether such an alliance will be formed remains to be seen. Meanwhile, military expenditure weighs heavily upon Turkey's economy. The 1951 Budget provides for expenditure to the order of £T.1,272,630,633 against an estimated revenue of £T.1.344,590,000. National defence accounts for roughly £T .450,000,000.

After years of continuous Communist provocation the Turks have philosophically accommodated themselves to their " armed truce ", ready to accept any sacrifice for national security. Once supplied with adequate quantities of arms and equipment Turkey could mobilize more than forty divisions. The fighting qualities of the Turkish soldier are by now common knowledge. In Korea, the Turkish Brigade has won the nickname of the " B.B. Brigade "— the " bravest of the brave ". In a world of collective insecurity the one-time " sick man of Europe." is doing remarkably well.

The authors are research students of Turkish and Middle-Eastern affairs. Mr. Benjenk was born in Turkey and educated at Robert College, Istanbul, and at the London School of Economics.)

FESTIVAL'S LONDON

By Herbert T. Banyard

For 1851 the people of Great Britain invited the world to join in "The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations" by sending samples of their ingenuity and energy for display. While celebrating the centenary of this, the Festival of Britain will also tell the story of the British contribution to civilization in a number of nationally-planned displays and exhibits and by locally-sponsored activities all over the country with local men, women and children taking part. The centrepiece of the Festival being the South Bank between Westminster and Waterloo bridges, many visitors to it will take what may well be their only opportunity to catch up on London's history. Those who are unsated by the wonders of internationally famous shrines, will perhaps also enjoy leaving the beaten track to discover for themselves some of the byways.

THIRTY years ago I was invited to inspect an excavation in the centre of London, where a bank was to be provided with some new strong rooms. A small strata of charred rubble had been found 20 feet below the surface, all that was left of the place Boadicea* sacked in A.D. 61. At what time the Romans established Britain as a fortified colony it is impossible to say ; in the first century an anonymous Roman recorded that London was well known as a market with a pleasant situation, but not a single Roman name is left here from those days to help us visualize the life and character of what is buried.

Two hundred years later the Romans again asserted themselves in Britain and, to protect the reconstructed city they built a tall surrounding wall. About three miles long and taking nine years to build, this enclosed an area the size of Hyde Park, and some 70,000 citizens were able to live in comparative safety. In one form or another for nearly 1,200 years the wall remained the boundary of the city. It ran parallel with the bank of the Thames between Blackfriars and the Tower of London, with openings at Billingsgate and Dowgate. From Blackfriars it went north to cross Watling Street at Newgate and then between St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospital to a point where Aldersgate was subsequently made. Then it turned north and east along the road which still bears its name to Bishopsgate, and coming south it rejoined the river at the Tower. The eastern side of the wall was protected by a very broad ditch, Houndsditch in

* The absence of any harness to the steeds of her chariot on the Westminster Bridge statue has done as much as the historians to keep her in the Londoner's memory.

act, and the western stretch was given additional protection along the route now approximately Farringdon Street by the River Fleet. This is now a main sewer, with an outfall into the Thames through two iron gates which can be seen at low tide on the inside of the first arch of Blackfriars Bridge on the north side of the river.

By 1760 changing social conditions made the protection afforded by enclosure superfluous, and the rapidly developing commerce of the city could not afford to have its transport hampered by gates which would not permit two wheeled vehicles to pass abreast. The wall was therefore in the main pulled down, and the gates sold for rubble. Little now remains, but it is miraculous that in the destruction of many hundreds of acres of business premises in the City of London during the last war, the largest remaining portion of the medieval wall superimposed on the Roman foundations open to the public view should be spared, and to-day be standing in London Wall in splendid isolation.

Nearby in the much-bombed churchyard of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where incidentally Oliver Cromwell was married and Milton and his father are buried, stands a bastion or turning point of the wall, and the persevering sightseer going south from this bastion across scarred earth will be rewarded by the discovery of a second one which an enterprising builder a century or so ago incorporated with the foundations of a large warehouse.

A few hundred yards north of London Wall is to be found a disused cemetery of much Nonconformist interest, Bunhill (bone hill) Fields ; Southey said the " Dissenters " regarded it as their *Campo Santo.* Known once as Tindal's Burying Ground, the land was granted by the Lord Mayor and Common Council for the yearly rent of 20s. to a man of that name who leased it in 1661. A hundred or more years before that date many cartloads of bones were deposited here from the charnel chapel of Old St. Paul's. Susannah Wesley, the mother of John and Charles and 17 more children, lies here and, within a stone's throw of each other, four men who have left indelible marks on our literature : John Bunyan and Daniel Defoe, the latter beneath an obelisk erected in 1870 by the boys and girls of Great Britain ; Isaac Watts, whose hymn " O God, our help in ages past " is probably familiar to all non-churchgoers, and William Blake to whose " Jerusalem " as a nation we turn in times of dedication. A touch of the macabre—on the tombstone of Dame Page we learn : " In 57 months she was tapped 66 times. Had taken away 270 gallons of water without ever repining at her case or ever fearing the operation."

The Saxons who followed the Romans did not effect any substantial alterations to the city, but during the later period the importance of London as a port, where the merchandise of the world was bartered, was growing. The most substantial remnant of

the Norman conquest is the White Tower of the Tower of London, that fortress built by William to overawe the aggressive citizens of London, to which the Festival visitor will of course be guided "officially" and comprehensively. Successive kings have added to it and lived in it, and within these walls the victims of intolerance and bigotry—of both sides—in the middle ages met death. On the third floor of the White Tower is the chapel of St. John, the most complete Norman chapel in England. It was from the altar that the Archbishop of Canterbury was seized by Wat Tyler's rebels and hurried to his death on Tower Hill, and Lady Jane Grey, the nine-day queen, kept vigil here on the night before her execution. The active life of the Tower has persisted through nearly nine centuries, much of it unseen by the outsider, and each night the gates are locked with medieval ceremony.

One of the oldest parish churches in London, St. Bartholomew's the Great, in East Smithfield, has Norman roots, for in 1120 the courtier Rahere, during the course of a pilgrimage to Rome, caught a fever and vowed to the saint that if he recovered he would build a hospital for the poor. The legend says that the saint appeared and granted his wish on these terms. In 1123 he started to build St Bartholomew's Hospital and founded the priory of the same name close by, ultimately becoming its first incumbent. The church contains much early Norman work and inside the altar rails is the tomb of the founder, whose recumbent figure is considered to be part of the original monument. In East Smithfield, too, at the corner of Cock Lane, is the statue of the small fat boy who is supposed when stealing a pie from the oven, to have set fire to the baker's shop of his employer and, incidentally, to London itself in 1666.

In the church of St. Sepulchre, at the east end of Holborn Viaduct, will be found the Sir Henry Wood memorial window. In a glass case on the wall is the bell which, when Newgate prison occupied the site now covered by the Old Bailey criminal court, was rung outside the cell of the condemned at midnight before execution, as an exhortation to make peace with God.

The "Westminster Abbey" of the City of London, St. Helen's Bishopsgate, began its story in 1212 with the foundation of the priory of the name for the nuns of the Benedictine Order. The separate twin naves were used by them and the parishioners respectively and at the dissolution of the monasteries, the king gave the church to the parish and the dividing wall was promptly taken down. The arched doorway which led to the priory can be seen, and there are some remarkable monuments. The earliest is the tomb of Sir John Crosby and his wife, dated 1475. Their show-place house in Bishopsgate was removed to Chelsea 40 years ago where it is a residential hostel for international women students. The founder of the Roya

Exchange and Gresham College, Sir Thomas Gresham, was buried here in 1774 under a fine tomb of Siena marble.

The Great Fire of London destroyed 89 churches and, of the nine pre-Fire churches standing in 1939, five only have survived bomb-destruction. One of these, St. Andrew Undershaft, has a peculiar interest for Londoners, for it contains the tomb of John Stow, the chronicler of the pre-Fire city. After a lifetime spent in acquiring the facts, he received at the age of 70 a licence from James I to beg in the streets of that very London. The balance is now adjusted, for every year the Lord Mayor pays a state visit to this church and places a new quill pen in the hand of Stow's statue, retaining the old one as a perquisite of office, and the chronicler's *Survey of London* in 60 volumes is in the British Museum Library.

Little remains of the original London Bridge, except a few stones in the churchyard of St. Magnus the Martyr, and some stone alcoves, one of which can be seen in the grounds of Guy's Hospital. A walk across the present London Bridge will disclose on the south side the finest Gothic building in London, with the possible exception of Westminster Abbey. Southwark Cathedral, Stow claimed, was founded long before the Norman conquest, and some Roman tessarae discovered there, and now in the pavement near the south aisle, suggest the possibility of a pagan temple. The side-chapel of St. John the Divine was restored in honour of John Harvard who was born in Southwark and baptised here in 1607. The memorial window shows the arms of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was educated, and of Harvard University which he founded. In 1607 Shakespeare attended the funeral of his brother Edmund here.

On the other side of Boro' High Street, tucked away in a railway yard is " The George ", the last of the galleried inns to survive ; Sam Weller and Pickwick are popularly supposed to have met here. The dart boards and electric light are the only false notes in the big single bar whose fireplace is large enough to roast a sheep whole. In Trinity Square, ten minutes' walk away, is probably the oldest outdoor statue in London. About a hundred years ago one of the statues of Alfred, of the burnt cakes, was removed from Westminster Hall where it had been since 1393, and set up here. The figure has lost both hands, one of which it is believed held a book and the other a sword—a tribute to his combination of scholar and soldier.

Monuments of an unusual kind will be found in Westminster Abbey in a room above the Islip chapel where a collection of wax figures is exhibited. These were funeral procession effigies, discarded afterwards in a crypt of the Abbey ; many years later they were renovated and provide a secular attraction. William and Mary are together, he on a footstool to raise him to his wife's height, and among others there are Queen Elizabeth, Charles II, the Earl of

Chatham and Nelson.

There is humour to be found in a study of London's statues. Outside the Bank of England and at the north-east corner of Trafalgar Square will be found mounted figures of the Duke of Wellington and George IV respectively. The sculptor Chantry must be held responsible for the lack of boots, stirrups, saddles and saddle-girths in both cases. The equestrian statue of the Prince Consort in Holborn Circus show him in full uniform, rasing his hat. In front of the Royal Exchange stands a memorial to the men of the London regiments who died in the 1914-1918 war. On either side is a bronze replica of a soldier in uniform ; one stands correctly at ease, the other with his hands clasped over the muzzle of his rifle—a practice I fear not to the liking of the average sergeant major.

The wall outside St. Dunstan in the West, in Fleet Street was cut away to receive a statue of Queen Elizabeth which up to 1761 had been on the Ludgate. The clock in front of the church, whose quaint figures strike the quarters, was built in the reign of Charles II and when the previous building was pulled down in 1830 it was bought by the Earl of Hertford and set up in the garden of his new home in Regent's Park which he named St. Dunstan's. In 1935 Lord Rothermere bought the clock and had it re-erected in its original position.

The statue of Charles I in Trafalgar Square has had a chequered history. The work of Le Sueur, a Huguenot, it was cast in 1633 for Covent Garden. It was seized by Cromwell's men and sold to a scrap merchant who was named rather appropriately John Rivett. Obviously with a sense of the dramatic, he sold quantities of candlesticks and nutcrackers which he claimed were made from the statue's metal. Actually he had buried it intact and after the Restoration Charles II bought it for £1600.

In contrast to the military or naval attire of sculptured kings, outside the National Gallery there is Grinling Gibbons's James II in a Roman toga, erected in 1686 as the gift of Tobias Rustat. He was a page of the chamber of both Charles and James, and used in their honour the money he earned in their service.

It is a long time since the Strand was really the water's edge of the Thames but in the gardens outside Charing Cross, and opposite the Festival site, still stands the watergate which belonged to the town house of the Duke of Buckingham. Ninety per cent. of the city's traffic in the middle ages was carried on the river and Londoners yelled " Oars ! " to the wherrymen from the steps that lined the banks. As late as 1800 over a thousand such wherrymen earned their living on the Thames.

Just by Lambeth Bridge, and opposite the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth Palace, will be found, at the entrance of

the Imperial Chemical Industries house in Millbank, the finest modern doors in London. They are 20 feet high, ten feet wide and weigh five tons, and are faced with a nickel-copper alloy which is impervious to London's grime. The sculptor was W. B. Fagan and his panels describe the development of industry since earliest times ; nothing on this scale has been attempted since Ghiberti executed the bronze doors of the Baptistery in Florence. The tomb of the infamous Bligh of the *Bounty* is across the bridge in Lambeth parish churchyard.

From Millbank the Festival pleasure gardens in Battersea Park are but a pleasant half-hour's riverside walk away. Their situation, west of the city, has a measure of tradition to silence the critics who regret the disturbance of quiet and beauty. They will recapture some of the charms of the Cremorne gardens, on the other side of the Thames in Chelsea, which were flourishing between 1845 and 1877 and were thus a resort of visitors to the Great Exhibition. Only their gates remain now, guarding the entrance to a wine merchant's premises in Tetcott Road. Not even the gates remain of that eighteenth century pleasure garden at Vauxhall, between Millbank and Battersea Park ; the pages of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett are brightened by its popularity and gaiety, to which the song " Vauxhall in the morning " still testifies.

(*Mr. Banyard lectures extensively on London and is the author of* London, Quaint and Curious.)

A MINER CONSIDERS

By B. L. Coombes

THAT January morning in 1947 when I stood with about a thousand other miners and watched the new flag herald Vesting Day at our colliery I was aware of an elation which the chill of the wintry morning could not dispel. Our hopes, our keenest desire had been fulfilled. Most of those who stood around me felt the same ; so did a host of other miners and people who were not miners. The dawn came over the mountain, the short speeches ended, and with a cheerfulness that carried no doubts we went underground to the first shift as a nationalized industry.

It is full time for consideration of the miners' feelings. I hear very little of that first enthusiasm and the most embittered are the ones who worked and talked hardest for the new control. A proportion insist that this new control is worse than the old ; others say that it is the same thing under another name and that no matter what happens the old complaints will remain without remedy. Possibly most of us expected a greater share in control and possibly the majority did not realize what they meant by the nationalization that came so unexpectedly that even our Mineworkers' Union—usually so virile and efficient—had not got all its cards arranged in proper order.

It was a time when we sorely needed young mining engineers with new ideas and democratic principles. Why were there so few experienced and available? For years such bitter feeling had existed between managements and men in most of the mining areas that the young miners would not study for the certificates to qualify them as mine officials because they knew that taking such a post would create a barrier between themselves and their friends. Many excellent men refused to make the step which would take them away from their kin and into—as it then seemed—the enemy camp. So, with the new order, the officials had to be chosen from those already in control and this brought the first feelings of distrust among the miners. They would not believe that a man serving a capitalist employer so well as to be given high position could switch round to work sincerely for the success and prosperity of a system which contradicted all the old ideas. Again, some of the most ruthless former employers could show the best results in output and profits ; so when administrators

were needed their records helped their officials to gain important posts. The miners, however, did not forget the past. Each fresh appointment rankled and brought protests which the Mineworkers' Union softened by assuring us that the difficulties were necessary growing pains curable in time.

Yet the gap still widened between the miner and the administrator and nowadays the National Coal Board seems to have no more friends among the miners than did the colliery owners in the past ; which is a pity, because some sincere and excellent men have gone to make a career in the administrative side of mining. Will they be overborne by numbers and moulded into pattern ? It seems so. So much good will and intention, so much hoping and craving for a new humanity in control—and yet it has oozed away into distrust and doubt which saddens any thinking man in the industry. At first there were criticisms concerning the salary and appointment of Lord Hyndley. Yet, since that time, he has been wise in his speeches and friendly towards the miners and now he seems to be accepted. I think most miners would welcome his continuation during a second period. Not so some of his near officials, who have not been so cautious in after dinner speeches. These reported speeches are often cut out and pasted on canteen walls or underground and, as I have already said, the miner is a bad forgetter of what he considers insult. Probably some papers have made too much fuss about staff dinners and dances, or a tired miner has been jealous when he saw half a dozen N.C.B. cars outside the canteen, or when he has had to travel a greater distance to an impressive mansion with his complaint about delayed house coal instead of arguing with a clerk in a cabin on the pit yard.

Nationalization has brought better training methods for our boys and more safety officers and precautions in the mine. The miner cannot help realizing he is now of human value for a mass of propaganda has circled around him during the last few years. He has been patted and prodded, abused and praised. All the while, during the last five years he has been news. Leaflets and bulletins are issued about his behaviour and for the first time in his long and troubled history he has his own magazine with the not very suitable title of *Coal*. Splendidly edited and produced, this keeps the mining areas fresh in their knowledge of each other's doings and also manages the difficult task of interesting and pleasing the miners, the managements, and the general public.

Regular work has come to the mines again and this is a pleasant change for many. Against that it is argued that almost everyone can find work in these days. Nationalization did not bring pit head baths to us for we had them years before that event. Yet, point out the increase in pit head baths to many miners and they will reply

that if they were in some other industry they would not need to bath anyway. More canteens—but every little factory has its canteen as a first essential in these days. The five-day week ? Yes, but how many other industries and professions have their five-day week, and often less than five days ? Apart from that, the night and afternoon shift in South Wales had a five-day week for nearly a quarter of a century before nationalization so they did not gain although the day shift did. As everyone knows, our week has been extended to six days during the coal shortage and anyone who does not work more than the five is considered somewhat of a slacker.

The National Coal Board has helped mining social life very much with its promotions of sports, concerts, boxing matches and eisteddfods. These things have meant much to the pleasure-starved mining communities and a start has been made at clearing and beautifying the slag tips which are ugly memorials to the old control.

Much distrust has arisen because some collieries have been closed when there were still coal areas worth working left; the men felt this was an attempt to lower price lists. In cases where there have been suggestions of re-opening such pits they have felt that their suspicions were justified. Then the treatment of aged miners has been badly handled. Most of the colliery companies, whatever their other failings, had some sympathy for the men who had spent their working years in the pits. Many were kept on, cleaning haulage ways or watching small engines or oiling the rope sheaves and rollers. Much of that has ended and the old men who linger their days around the mining villages have few good words for the new system. Nor have the sick, anyway in our area, fared much better. All through my memory of miners' committees we always had a ruling that no man must be penalized through genuine sickness or accident. Many illnesses, such as rheumatism and nervous breakdown, may have a direct link with the conditions in mining but are not certified as industrial diseases ; nevertheless, we felt that the sufferer should retain his job and any seniority he was entitled to have. A few months ago I was concerned with a case in which a miner with 23 years' excellent service was given notice two days after a medical certificate was handed in. In past years such a happening would have brought a pit head meeting next morning and either re-instatement or a stoppage. In this instance the case was fought by the workmen's committee, who were eager not to allow a stoppage. It took more than four months before the notice was withdrawn. Apparently no one was responsible for the happening ; it was done on the orders always of someone higher up. Once such trouble starts it seems to get away from the local scene and to be discussed back and fore at long interval by the in-betweens, and they seem endless, from the workmen to the Coal Board proper.

I knew another miner who was involved in a dispute. He was a good worker and hated being idle. After some weeks a cousin who was working outside London got work for him and part of a house for his family. I saw them going from our valley on a cold morning about a fortnight ago—Matt, his wife, three sturdy boys and a girl. It saddened me because I liked them and I knew they had not wanted to go. All natives of the valley, mining was in their blood. We knew they would never come back to live with us once the link was broken. They seem to be settling down nicely in their new home ; one expert miner, three potential miners and a miner's wife driven from their own life by a piece of official stupidity. Had I my way someone else would be seeking a new job. How much advertising will it take to replace that group who were right on the job ? This is one way miners are lost and take their experience with them. Despite all the appeals the number of miners has been dropping alarmingly year after year. Recruiting figures have had a fillip lately but I feel it is only temporary and that the reduction will soon show again. The long and stormy winter has caused many men to abandon outdoor work for a period and go underground and there is also the war danger with the surety that anyone in mining will be exempt.

In many of our mining districts small factories have been built in an attempt to prevent any return of bulk unemployment should the mining industry have another slump. Often this has changed the way of life in that area. The early mornings, which in the past saw only crowds of grimy miners hurrying to and from the pit now has its stream of buses carrying girls, married women, and clean-dressed men to the factories. No longer is coal dominant in their lives. The companionship in work and travel lure the young men into the factories and the miner, toiling in an entirely male industry, is outside the company.

Every experienced miner knows that whatever reforms are made no-one can ever bring daylight, fresh air, and safety into mining ; it will always be hard work and dangerous. To advertise it as if there was an Eldorado available is misleading. Careers there will be in mining ; there have been careers in the past also, but from now on the atmosphere is to be different. Yet the most promising material for mining must always be the lad reared within hearing and knowledge of the work and with the affection for our way of life that comes only with the love of home. These will have a long start on an outsider coming fresh to mining. But everyone cannot become a manager, or under-manager or even under-official. Their numbers will be small compared to that great majority who must know how to timber the roof and to swing the shovel. Yes, shovels are still much in use, and likely to be ; also they cost 8s. each now in our shops,

one item the cost of living index does not show. Before the war they were 1s. 6d.

Another cause of friction is the boosting of any single workman who has an unusual output. We know that without the eager and willing help of several other grades of workmen he would have failed to achieve his high output. I am experienced in this, for several years ago I broke a coal filling record and was given a bonus in pay for it. What happened was that one day I found the coal in my working place suddenly as free as an incoming tide. By hard labour, and a deal of co-operation I filled a large amount of coal that week and was duly boosted. Next week, however, the coal had become normal again and, despite my efforts to uphold this new reputation, so did my output. Team work is the secret, not setting one man against another. I know managements, and they have reason in their arguments, who will always see that a poor and inexperienced workman is given a good coal stall. He would have a chance to earn his wages there and he would be safer from falls of roof. If you have a hard-working and expert miner, however, then put him in a difficult working place because there is the certainty that he will be able to handle it. Sometimes he may be given some extra payment but it is safe to say that his name will never stand out with those of the record breakers. It is true that many fortunate coal-face workers earn high wages but behind each of their full pay packets is the fact that possibly two non-face workers have toiled equally hard but are not taking half that money home.

This point was proved during the recent pay increase for the fixed wage men. Amongst those on a fixed wage are the repairers and engine drivers, roadmen and fitters. Repairing, especially, is a highly skilled job usually left to the middle-aged and experienced men. They erect steel or timber arches, widen the sides and pull down low pieces of roof, and all the while they must guard against delay in the coal transport along those roadways which they are maintaining. Yet they must often put working places safe for men who earn wages so high that the comparison is ridiculous. An easy solution is often offered—of putting these repairers to work as colliers so that they may get high wages too. Although the idea is apparently sound it does not work out because only a proportion of the coal fillers have the skill needed to act as repairers. The pits must have their maintenance men if output is to continue so the repairers must stay at their dangerous and difficult job. As things are developing, coal filling will soon be one of the least skilled and less arduous jobs in mining.

Great promises have been given about the future of machine mining but many recent mistakes have been the result of forcing managements to use machines where the seam was not suitable. The trouble often is that where a seam suits machine working it is ideal

or hand working also and other seams suit neither hand work nor machine. Every week I fear to hear of some disaster in machine and conveyor mining, for a hurrying scramble under 80 or more yards of low roof with everything crashing down behind you is not enjoyable, and trouble does happen frequently. Some day a conveyor team will not get away quickly enough and the regulations may be tightened. If machine mining is used steadily, as a careful miner would work his stall, it can ease much of the hard work and can be reasonably safe ; but if it becomes a continual rush it comes near to industrial man-slaughter.

Machine mining does indeed increase the amount of dust in the air current. Added precautions are now in use but I feel there will always be some amount of dust. During the last nine years over 12,000 men were certified as suffering from dust diseases and the majority of these were in South Wales. Another large number failed to get certified and it is a saying with us that a man must be near the end before he is certified. In many cases a *post mortem* has shown that the Medical Board's finding was wrong and that the miner had a large amount of dust inside him—a terrible price to pay for coal this, apart from the accident figures. Having watched the last hours in agony of many sufferers, I feel that the public, and miners from dust-free areas, should be shown more of what it means.

With machine mining the problem of dirty coal, or slag and rubbish in coal, has been intensified. In hand filling such slag can be traced to the man responsible but when 20 or more men work on a conveyor this cannot be done. A great bulk of coal is cut and its falling brings down any loose pieces of slag. Much of it is shovelled on the belt which carries it along like a black river to the trams. Coming along, sometimes. at more than a ton a minute, how can every bit be examined ? In daylight on the screening plants a larger proportion is picked out but some passes and probably many inferior seams are being worked as well. Better screening plants are being built and in time the trouble should be eased.

I feel that one of the main causes of unrest is the treatment and delay in settling disputes, the fear of strikes having receded apparently from the minds of those responsible. I think that in each area a representative of the Board and one for the miners with an agreed chairman should be immediately available—like a rescue team—to travel swiftly to any colliery when a dispute threatens. They should lift the complaint on the very first day and both sides should be compelled to accept the decision.

I think that more humane treatment must be given to the aged miners and the disabled. Every available light job about or around a colliery should be reserved for them, and quite a number could be found. I think more of the intelligent ones could be trained as

colliery clerks and to help in the canteens. No fit man should have a job that a disabled man could do, for we have thousands lingering the days away in our mining villages and hoping for a chance to show they are still of some use.

The consultative machinery should be remodelled and made more effective. Many such committees are only rubber stamps for the manager's decisions and have become a joke to the workmen.

Many mining valleys are still very backward socially. Decent shopping centres are 10 or 12 miles away and transport is poor. I know several mining families who have lived in apartments—part of a small mining house—from the time the parents married until their children married, and still have little hope of a home of their own. Yet, will it be better to bring homes to the old mining villages or build new homes on the outside of our larger towns? Around here if you wish to see a good play, or concert, or opera (and hundreds of local folk do) it means organizing a trip of possibly 40 miles or more. Some valleys have no picture houses or libraries worth the name. With the modern outlook, how can you expect young folk to marry and settle under such handicaps? Such new developments as Nantgarw will attract men to mining, because the new colliery is in pleasant surroundings, alongside the Treforest Trading Estate, and quite near to Cardiff. The latest mining methods have been employed in opening this new coal face and safety as well as dust prevention methods have been carefully studied. The top of the colliery is planned so that none of the old spoil tips and ugly features will be present. The main roadways have been driven forward on the horizon principle. Coal production should start this summer and at least 2,000 men will be employed in as near ideal conditions as is possible in mining. Big housing schemes are going forward and high hopes are placed in this venture both by miners and the management.

Lastly, I would like the Coal Board to clear out some of the hindrances between them and the working miner ; to show more clearly that we are all part of a national industry and not merely names on a sheet which can be struck out when they have served their turn. The coal drill is important as well as the official fountain pen. All the planning possible will not avail unless you have the willing co-operation of men able to develop the nation's coal industry in the darkness of the mine as well as in the office.

THE SECRET

By Wilfrid Gibson

As I stood listening to the wail
Of gulls that swerved about the sail
And idly wondered what they said,
A seal's sleek glistening boylike head
Bobbed from the beryl-tinted tide ;
And, as I watched him, overside
The yawl, becalmed, his eyes to me
Seemed dark with all the mystery—
The peace, the peril, of the wide
Austere inviolable sea—
The secret, sailors, long since dead,
Have sought through hurricane and squall
And spells of blue tranquillity
To fathom, unavailingly :
And, as I dreamed there, pondering,
Beneath the sheltering main sail
That slackly drooped against the mast,
It almost seemed that I at last
In those night-deep star-sparkling eyes
The darkling marvel might surprise ;
But, as I trembled eagerly
Upon the brink of the unknown
And seemed about to pierce behind
The ever-baffling undivined
Enigma of man's endless search,
Caught in a gust of squally wind
With clacking blocks and gybing boom
Sea Swallow gave a sudden lurch ;
And, startled by that luckless chance,
The seal again dived silently ;
And, baffled still, I stood alone,
Encompassed by the mystery
Of gulfs that gloom and waves that glance,
Abandoned to the ancient doom
Of the original ignorance.

DICKENS AND MUSIC

By Herbert Antcliffe

THE people of Dickens's day were not interested in talking about and drawing attention to their musical talents and activities as We read less about the popular music of the time than of almost any other period in the history of England ; on the whole it was an upper and middle class interest although the working class certainly had their own songs. Even among the nobility and wealthier professional circles music was practised little; piano and harp playing and the singing of simple songs or, on occasion, operatic arias, being the hobby of ladies, to which the men listened with polite attention and sometimes with admiration either of the music itself or of the executant. Dickens, though his chief interest was in the mostly banal songs of his birth-class, seems to have had some slight technical knowledge of the art, which he applied in the production of plays and in the illustration of his stories when he read them in public. During the early years, before financial disaster fell on the family, he had some lessons in violin-playing, but does not appear to have made much progress in the difficult art.

From his earliest youth he had a rare facility, inherited from his father, for singing songs which he had heard only once or twice and of telling stories that were impromptu or which he had casually heard or read. John Forster, his biographer, says that this was so remarkable that " he used to be elevated on chairs and tables, both at home and abroad, for more effective display of these talents." Abroad, indeed for at all sorts of social parties little Charles was called upon to sing and to recite. He frequently sang duets with his sister Fanny mounted on a dining table for a stage, not only in the private apartments of his father's friend, the landlord of the Mitre Hotel, Rochester (his native town), but also in the public bar for the entertainment and attraction of customers. This was the type of song :

Long time I've courted you, miss,
And now I've come from sea,
We'll make no more ado, miss,
But quickly married be.
Sing fal de ral . . .

John Payne Collier, the lawyer and Shakespearean authority, in *An Old Man's Diary—Forty Years Ago*, written about the same time

is Forster's biography, mentions a comic song, "Sweet Betsey Ogle", composed and sung by Dickens when but a stripling, together with what Collier calls a " monopolylogue " after the style of those of Charles Matthews. Dickens seems also to have had a particular liking for Dr. Watts's once popular morality song :

'Tis the voice of the sluggard,
I hear him complain,
You have waked me too soon,
I must slumber again ;

which is easily understandable when we remember how industrious and untiring a worker Dickens was himself.

When he was just 21 he wrote a burlesque on Shakespeare's *Othello*, entitled *The O'Thello*, in which, among other casual musical numbers, was a song, *When in Death I shall calm recline*, sung to the tune used for the same words by Shakespeare. At this time the theatrical performances of which he was the principal promoter, and one of the principal performers, took an important place in his life. In the first printed playbill we possess, dated April 27, 1833, we find the names of evidently the whole of the Dickens family except the mother. The pieces were *Clari* or *The Maid of Milan*, a musical drama or opera by John Howard Payne, with music by Sir Henry Bishop, in which is the song *Home, Sweet Home*, which had been introduced to the world ten years before by Ann Maria Tree, and the inevitable farce.

Mrs. Cowden-Clarke said of him that " it was not only as an actor that he excelled, he was the soul of everything, was stage-manager, often stage-carpenter, property-man *and bandmaster*." Among other recorded practical musical activities of Dickens were the instructions he gave in 1848 about the music to be played before Mark Lemon's production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and before a farce which followed. These instructions though probably ' general ' could hardly have been given by anyone with no knowledge of music and its performance. He made also as complete a study as he could of the popular songs of the Seven Dials area where his family lived.

Later, in some of the readings of his own work, he was more musical in the spoken than in the printed versions. In reading about Bob Sawyer he made the young medico, as Mr. J. B. van Amerongen says in his little book *The Actor in Dickens*, " say to Jack Hopkins (who is so fond of ' chorusing ') that it is all his (Hopkins') fault that they were ordered out of the house of Mrs. Raddles, *because he will sing chorus—that he was born chorus-y, lived chorus-y and will die chorus-y*, the words printed in italics being absent in the novel."

George Dolby, in *Charles Dickens as I knew him*, tells a story of how Dickens, when on a lecture tour, entertained his manager in the train to Preston by singing the drinking song and dance from *Der*

Freischuetz. Associating largely with musicians, one of his most intimate friends was Henry Fothergill Chorley, the well-known musical critic of *The Athenaeum* and author of many libretti and books concerned with or related to music. It is also known that Catherine Hayes, a distinguished Irish soprano, dined with the Dickens family at home during April 1848. He had previously called on Jenny Lind, along with Charles Macready, the actor. To Madame Viardot-Garcia he sent all the numbers of *Little Dorrit* as they appeared, because he had " such delight in her great genius that he was proud of the honour of giving her a moment's intellectual pleasure." Before this he had written a very appreciative account of her appearance in Gluck's *Orphée*. A couple of years later, while he was in Paris, he made the acquaintance of Halévy and his librettist, Eugene Scribe, with whom he dined.

Opera seems to have been particularly interesting to him, though he did not approve of it entirely, as in Gounod's *Faust* for example; his love of melody attracted him and it was the dramatic absurdities that he disliked. It is possible though that he was equally attracted by the abundance of *Faust's* scenic effects. If he admired *Orphée* it may have been because of his admiration of the singing of Madame Viardot. Bellini's *Il Pirata* he regarded " as good and great as it is possible for anything operatic to be," and Auber's *Manon Lescaut* he said was " perfectly charming." Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, on the other hand, he described as " rubbish ". To Miss Hogarth he wrote : " *I am afraid* we must go to the Opera Comique on Sunday." Exactly what his fears were, aesthetic or sabbatarian, does not appear, probably the former.

He was also a keen critic in the matter of what was and what was not suitable for operatic treatment. When Bulwer (later Bulwer-Lytton) asked his opinion about turning *The Lady of Lyons* into an opera, he replied that he objected to such a scheme, but that his objection was " purely one of feeling." " Pauline trotting about in front of the float, invoking the orchestra with a limp pocket-handkerchief, is a notion that makes goose-flesh of my back. Also a yelping tenor going away to the wars in a scena half-an-hour long, is painful to contemplate. Damas, too, as a bass, with grizzled bald head bellowing about

> Years long ago,
> When the sound of the drum
> First made his blood glow
> With a rum ti tum tum."

To music in the plays which he wrote he had no objection, nor to ' incidental ' music for his plays or recitations. Songs were introduced into some of his plays for no other reason than that the actor could sing, or to gain time for some ' effect ' which had to be made,

r for a change of scenery. Of the libretti he wrote for comic operas, he best-known is John Hullah's *The Village Coquette*, produced at t. James's Theatre on December 6, 1836. This libretto was as bad s most of the others of the time. In fact, speaking of this work some ears later, Dickens said that " it is needless to say that the libretto f an opera must be, to some extent, *a mere vehicle for the music*," nd on November 13, 1843, he wrote to R. H. Horne, the poet and ramatist : " Pray tell that besotted . . . to let the opera sink into ts native obscurity. I did it in a fit of d . . . ble good nature long go for Hullah, who wrote some very pretty music for it. I just put down for everybody what everybody at the St. James's Theatre anted to say and do, and what they could say and do best, and I ave been most sincerely repentant ever since . . . I wouldn't epeat them (the opera and a farce) for a thousand pounds a piece nd devoutly wish them to be forgotten." As so often happens with the wishes of famous authors this desire of Dickens was so little egarded that the opera libretto, with some of the original music, was evived by the late Sir Frederick Bridge for production by the tudents at the Trinity College of Music, Bridge himself composing xtra numbers where no music was already available or where he considered that Hullah's was unsuitable. Thus brought up to date, it passed as a *fin-de-siècle* piece instead of as the typical mid-nineteenth century *pièce d'occasion*.

When Wilkie Collins's *Lighthouse* was produced with incidental music by Francesco Berger, Dickens attended all the rehearsals and wrote a prologue, which he recited at the first production, in which he referred to the lighthouse keepers as " solitary men " who

> the long year through—
> The wind their music and the brine their view —
> Warn mariners to shun the beacon light.

For *The Frozen Deep* too he took an active and important part in fitting the music to the action. To the prologues he instructed " slow music all the time," and " slow music throughout." Directions which he gave for his own recital of *No Thoroughfare* demanded for the bedrock scene that it should be " done *to the sound of the waterfall*. I want the sound of the waterfall louder and softer as the wind rises and falls, to be spoken through—like the music."

Turning to the novels we find in *Martin Chuzzlewit* a stage scene with " soft music playing all the while " and in *The Old Curiosity Shop* there is another description of a play in which appears " the man who sang the song with the lady's maid and danced the chorus, who made her laugh." He had a great idea of " slow music ", "soft music", " quick music " and " hurry " and of appropriate melodies in melodrama. Although he frequently made fun of the employment of these he quite appreciated the effect of music on others and felt it

upon himself. His description of David Copperfield's visit to Covent Garden Theatre after leaving his aunt is probably a recollection of such a visit paid by himself. " From the back of a centre box," he says, " I saw *Julius Caesar* and the new pantomime . . . The mingled reality and mystery of the whole show, the influence upon me of the poetry, the lights, *the music* . . . were so dazzling, and opened up such illimitable regions of delight, that when I came out into the rainy street, at twelve o'clock at night, I felt as if I had come from the clouds." Frederick Dorrit, the uncle of Little Dorrit, played the clarinet in the theatre six nights a week, but " had never been observed to raise his eyes above his music-book, and was confidently believed to have never seen a play . . . the frequenters of the pit supposed him to pass his whole life, night and day, and Sunday and all in the orchestra . . . In private life, where there was no part for the clarinet, he had no part at all."

In *Our French Watering Place*, says Dickens, " we have a commodious and gay theatre—or had, for it is burned down now—— where the opera was always preceded by vaudeville . . . the little old man with the little cane and tassel, who always played either my Uncle or my Papa, suddenly broke out of the dialogue into the mildest vocal sketches, to the great perplexity of the unaccustomed strangers from Great Britain, who never could make out when they were singing and when they were talking—and indeed it was pretty much the same." In *Pictures from Italy* it is clear that there the *marionetti* attracted him most, with their dancing, springing and pirouetting, " coming down with a pause, on the very tips of their toes, when the music requires it . . . I shall never see a real ballet with a composed countenance again." In the French-Flemish country he came across: " *La famille P. Saley, composée d'artistes dramatique, au nombre de* 15 *sujets*," one of whom sings a very short song " with his eyebrows . . ."

The *Uncommercial Traveller* in Dullborough Town feels " like a tenor in an English opera " when he speaks of his boyhood's home. *Dombey and Son* provides us with a comparison of " the cart of life, shaken all to pieces " which goes on labouring towards its goal, accompanying the scene like soft music. " The orchestra," says J. B. van Amerongen, " is generally playing softly as the curtain falls " on a death scene ; but " sometimes the subdued, plaintive tones of the violins swell into the loud blare of the trumpets : ' Dead, your Majesty ! ' etc." In *Bleak House* music seems to be chiefly associated with drunkenness, for when Rinaldodi Velasco (his real name being Pickleson) was given sixpence, " he laid it out in two threepennyworths of gin and water, which so brisked him up too that he sang the favourite Comic of Shivery Shakey, aint it cold? . . . a popular effect which his master had tried every other means to get out of him as a Roman wholly in vain." The dwarf in *Greenwich*

Fair is always particularly drunk and also " pledges himself to sing a comic song." Of a very different character is the mason in *Our Mutual Friend*, who as he chips out P-A-U-L in the marble slab before him " sings and whistles." Uncle Toby is limited in his musical expression, for he is for ever singing his *Lilliburlero*; Pipes always expresses his joy by blowing his flute.

In *Gesammelte Schriften*, Otto Ludwig, the German novelist and poet, says that every chapter of a Dickens novel strikes him as the scene of a drama, and Dickens's works generally impress him like plays accompanied by music. He heard this music in the " rat-a-tat " of the coffin-maker, faintly audible in the distance, during Omer's talk with David, and when Walter Gay, holding Florence to his heart, listens to " The Blessed Sunday Bells." J. B. Van Amerongen considers that the suggestion of " music " must have been stronger still in the scene where David and Agnes are having their first talk after Dora's death, while she, sitting at the piano " played on, looking at him still," and still more in the closing lines of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, where we find Tom Pinch performing on the organ and " in those sounds with which it is thy wont to bear the twilight company, the music of the heart speaks out—the story of thy life reveals itself."

In stage adaptations of his novels music was in Dicken's own day often entirely irrelevant and especially was this the case with those based on *Pickwick*. Later the book has served as the basis of many comic operas, most of them of ephemeral. Serious composers, also, like Carl Goldmark, Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Riccardo Zandonai have written operas based on *The Cricket on the Hearth*, the Scotsman and Italian keeping the title of the story intact, while the Austro-Hungarian composer, with true artistic uncertainty, wavered between merely *Das Heimchen* and *Das Heinchen am Herd*. Norman O'Neill, Albert Coates and Charles Wood wrote operas based on *Pickwick* and Julian Edwards, an Englishman who settled in America and became a popular composer there, composed an operatta on the character of Dolly Varden. Quite early Gustave Schmidt, a pupil of Hummel and Mendelssohn, wrote a ' musical play ' on *A Christmas Carol*, and a new opera, *The Tale of Two Cities*, has been composed by Arthur Benjamin for the Festival of Britain.

Instrumental works inspired by or based on Dickens's stories are generally of a light and humorous character. They include Hans Gal's *Dickens Overture* and Joseph Holbrooke's *Pickwick Quartet*, and for the piano Debussy's Prelude *Hommage à Pickwick* and Felix White's *Dickens Notebook*.

CORRESPONDENCE

To *the Editor* of THE FORTNIGHTLY

A NEW EUROPEAN ATTITUDE IN ASIA

Sir,

In a footnote on page 158 of the March number of THE FORTNIGHTLY, Mr. Tibor Mende quotes figures from a report to the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance, showing the average national *per capita* income, expressed in U.S. dollars, in 1939 in 21 European and Asiatic countries. At the head of this list, above the U.K., stands Germany with a figure of 520 dollars. At the very bottom we read : Indonesia, 22.

Although the American Information Service here cannot supply me with a copy of the report quoted, I would be so bold as to challenge the accuracy of these figures even without having been able to check up to see how they were obtained.

The figure for Germany must, I assume, be based on Nazi statistics, which were notoriously fictitious. For the period 1925-1934 Professor Colin Clark calculated the relevant figure for Germany as 275. If this figure and that quoted by Mr. Mende were correct, it would mean that in the five-year period, 1935-1939, the Hitler régime in Germany had succeeded in all but doubling the average income of Germans, raising it far above the level enjoyed by the people of the U.K., Switzerland, Holland and Sweden, four of the richest nations in Europe. An unparalleled feat ! However, everyone must surely know that this was not the case. (Before the war it was cheap for Dutch workers to go on holiday to Germany and thousands did.)

As for the other end of the scale : read in conjunction with Mr. Mende's account of the wretched economic circumstances of the population in the Philippines (average *per capita* income, 32), the figure given for Indonesia, 22, leads the reader to assume that the population of pre-war Indonesia suffered under conditions even worse, indeed, under what Mr. Mende terms conditions of " bottomless human degradation". This, too, is manifestly untrue. And an explanation is forthcoming.

It is, in fact, as good as impossible to calculate an accurate figure for Indonesia, since a money economy, such as exists in the west, is by no means the rule there. The great majority of the population still live partly by barter, and some entirely. The peasant needs only a limited *money* income (to pay taxes and purchase manufactured goods at the bazaars), the rest of his income being received in kind. Unless this has been taken into account in calculating the figure of 22 dollars for Indonesia, the figure is absolutely unreliable. And it is hardly likely that it has been taken into account, since those thorough-going devotees of statistics, the Dutch, are themselves obliged to admit that the average income per head in Indonesia is virtually unassessable . . . for this very reason.

Further, it should be remembered that 22 dollars, or their equivalent, could buy a far greater proportion of a man's needs in the east than a similar sum could in Europe. Indeed, conditions of climate, type of housing, clothing, diet, social customs all differ so hugely between east and west that statistics alone cannot provide a true comparative picture of welfare.

All this is not intended to contest Mr. Mende's main argument, with which all

people of goodwill must surely enthusiastically agree. But it does mean that statistics can lie . . . and certainly do when methods suitable for assessing the state of affairs in one type of society are employed to obtain a comparative picture of a society quite different in nature and structure. Finally, I would just like to remark that " human degradation " is not a purely economic matter. Perhaps, in the world of the spirit, the east might help the west.

Yours faithfully,

J. T. BROCKWAY.

Riouwstraat 58,
The Hague,
Holland.

Mr. Tibor Mende writes from Paris : I don't have before me the original report of the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance, referred to by Mr. Brockway. The relevant statistical table, however, is reproduced on pp. 113-114 of *Point Four—Co-operative Program for Aid in the Development of Economically Underdeveloped Areas*—available in American information libraries. This is a Department of State publication (No. 3719) released in January 1950 to launch the Point 4 programme. In its preparation the Department of State was assisted by an " Interdepartmental Advisory Committee in Technical Assistance and of the staff of the National Advisory Council ". All this seemed to me serious enough and worth quoting. Especially so as Professor Colin Clark's figures (1925-1934)—even if, personally, I am inclined to accept them with more confidence—are out of date and hardly any other recent figures have been published on comparative incomes from any serious source.

All this said, I gladly subscribe to Mr. Brockway's incredulity concerning the accuracy of these or similar statistics. The selection of facts in research of this kind is necessarily arbitrary. Unfortunately, however, one has to rely on what is available and my purpose was merely to show the enormous difference between the western and the Asian countries.

Evidently the German workers' average *real* income did not double between 1933-1939 ; but I would think it credible that, after the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and with the armament industries paying high wages, the income of the average German worker—expressed in U.S. dollars at the *official* exchange rates—may have been higher than in any other European country at the time. I repeat, I do not wish to defend the accuracy of these figures. I am merely trying to explain why I considered them sufficiently serious to illustrate the thesis of my article.

I have never visited Indonesia but from what I have seen in other Asian countries—alleged to have a higher standard of living—the expression " bottomless human degradation ", when speaking of Asia as a whole, does not seem to me exaggerated. I disagree with the notion that because Asians live under different conditions, their standard of living cannot or should not be compared with that in the west. This is precisely the kind of attitude my article deplored. If the Indonesian or Burmese peasant does not need fuel for the winter, he would certainly welcome an electric fan in his house, a frigidaire in his kitchen or cool transportation. The essence of the current revolt of Asia is, I think, that Asians *do* want to compare their standards of living with those prevailing in the west. And why shouldn't they ? Don't they see our films and our glossy magazines ? Don't they listen to western broadcasts or read newspapers ? Or don't they see the sumptuous living of the tiny group of Asians who, in each country, manage to acquire sufficient wealth to imitate our " western way of living " ? I agree that owing to climatic and social differences it may be difficult to find common denominators to compare standards of living. But I disagree with the implied conclusion that, because of these differences, Asian standards of living have to be lower than ours. The appeal of Communism in most Asian countries is based on the

masses' desire for higher standards of living and no-one would deny that it is highly successful.

I certainly do not wish to minimize the spiritual values of the east and gladly accept that they might help the west. But when I think of the countless mothers burying one after the other children who might have been saved ; of the bright youngsters who will never have a chance to develop ; of the inhuman struggle of numberless villagers against an exhausted soil ; or, of the 20-odd million Indians who, while I am writing these lines, are slowly starving to death in their villages in northern India, I cannot help asking myself in what way their spiritual heritage will save them from the " bottomless human degradation " of dying for lack of food or medical care in a world where plenty is within reach. There are periods in the history of every society when certain social factors claim precedence over all others. In present-day Asia, I think, the problem of material welfare certainly conditions all other considerations.

The " idyllic contentment of the native " is as much part of the past as the methods of the opium war and the sooner we realize this the more we improve the chances of world peace. Long before the power-loom and the steamship, Asians often had higher standards of living than our forefathers in western Europe. "Conditions of climate, type of housing, clothing, diet and social customs " have not changed so radically since ; it was rather that we put guns on our steamships. That advantage is now threatened. One of its symptoms is that Asians insist on comparing their living standards with ours. They may use inaccurate statistics but they certainly have a case.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE MYSTERY OF SPAIN

By William Rydal

To the ordinary educated, and travelled, Englishman, Spain is largely *terra incognita*. His notions of the country are too often limited to a general impression of wild gaiety and colour or of semi-African scents and sounds deriving from the *flamenco* and gypsy dances of Andalusia. And, if he reflects on the Spanish as a nation, it is to surmise that there must be something radically wrong with a people that, in the twentieth century goes in for civil war and thereafter puts up for more than a decade with a dictatorship manifestly patterned on the Fascist model. To the few *cognoscenti* Spain presents a very different picture, infinitely more varied and complex both from the scenic and the political points of view, and also essentially *triste*. Indeed this is the first and essential truth about Spain : that it is *different*, both variegated in its several parts and essentially *sui generis* in relation to the rest of western Europe. (Geography, in this case, is a base deceiver.) As Mr. Brenan observes : " For centuries a mixing bowl of the cultures of Europe, Asia and North Africa, Spain to-day gives off a note which is unlike any other," and no one can understand the mystery of Spain who applies the ordinary criteria and standards of the west.

Mr. Brenan showed in his masterly study of *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1939) that he is one of those few who do understand. His new book * describing experiences and impressions during a journey with his wife in the spring of 1949 is, again, plumb right in its general perspective and commendably free from political prejudice. Nevertheless, the uninitiated should be warned that the conditions which he depicts, a blend of grim austerity, sadness and fearful poverty, are peculiar to central and southern Spain, between Madrid and Gibraltar, so to speak, the provinces of the historic region of Andalusia with the neighbouring regions of La Mancha in the east and Extremadura in the west. Other regions, and not merely Catalonia and the Basque Provinces, possess very different characteristics.

Two things stand out in this account of an unsentimental journey—the extreme degree of poverty obtaining—the staple food of the agricultural labourer, he tells us, consists of bread and olive oil, with a little salad and vinegar and some cheap sort of fish—and the sullen resignation with which the régime is accepted. Try as he would, the author could not escape politics. He gets Francoism into the right focus when he observes that Falange's lower middle-class idealism, genuine in its inception, has been swamped by circumstances. The unyielding selfishness of the vested interests of landowners, Church and army, and of the new pluto-bureaucracy, have combined with the shock of Hitler's defeat, black-market corruption and post-war inflation to breed a cynical disillusionment with a ramshackle dictatorship, with which, nowadays, the régime of Primo de Rivera is nostalgically contrasted. But the value of the book lies mainly in the author's appreciation of the quint-

* *The Face of Spain*, by Gerald Brenan. Turnstile Press, 15s.

essential Spanish characteristics and the fine descriptive passages of landscape, flora and jewels, of art and architecture. There are, too, numerous penetrating glances into the real conditions behind the propaganda screen, for example, the blatant selling of better quality bread under the appellation *Pan a Contrabando* and the black market shifts to which Spaniards, generally, are reduced. One man, he remarks, had snaffled for himself 32 ration books, wherefore the official statistics of a large increase of the population need to be taken with several grains of salt !

Of the two books listed below* the less said the better. Miss O'Callaghan's effusion is above all a Panglossian tribute to the Franco régime which she describes as " a well-ordered, smooth-running welfare State [with] a people industrious, contented and, above all, well-disposed towards one another instead of envenomed with bitter feelings."

In fact the author's theme is not so much Spanish conditions, about which she does little more than parrot the propaganda and lies current, as the fallibility of the orthodox standards of democracy not merely as applied to Spain (with which most of us would agree) but in themselves. Style and substance are equally shoddy, and do disservice to the cause which Miss O'Callaghan would fain champion.

Mr. Brodrick is chatty, discursive and at the same time prodigal of historical lore, as he darts disconcertingly from Spain to Portugal, from the past to the present. The net effect, to the present reviewer at any rate, is sheer unreadability. One wonders for what class of reader the publisher can have intended this gallimaufry.

WILLIAM RYDAL

CINDERELLA OF EUROPE :* **Spain Explained, by Sheila M O'Callaghan. Skeffington. 12s. 6d.

PILLARS OF HERCULES : **The Iberian Scene,** by Alan Houghton Broderick. Hutchinson. 18s.

THE CHANGING MAP OF ASIA. Edited by W. Gordon East and O. H. K. Spate. *Methuen.* 25*s.*

THE CHINESE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, by Victor Purcell. *Oxford University Press.* 50*s.*

Since the group of scholars completed their surveys of the main components of Asia for the first of these books much has happened to add to the questions they raise. Will Indo-China manage to hold the independence at last granted her against the Communists ? Will the Burmese Government, staggering dizzily along like a top on the verge of running down, succeed in hammering its many-hued rebels into subjection ? What will be the end of the war in Korea, where the power vacuum caused by the downfall of Japan has brought Russia and America face to face in conflict ? Above all, what is the real aim of Communist China's new imperialism ? But these questions are implicit in those actually raised, which must be faced. The only common denominator in all the fevers of Asia, as the editors point out, is the abysmal poverty of her hundreds of millions of peasants and only the co-operation of east and west offers any cure. To-day, the Communist slogan " land for the peasant " has much greater appeal than that of a totally unknown democracy.

This book cannot be hurried through but one can promise those who read it with the attention it deserves unfailing interest. Each writer is a master of his subject and there are 34 admirably illuminating maps. The background of present events is particularly well told by the two editors. They make the interesting point that it was the western rulers' need of a native bureaucracy, which of course had to be educated, that gave birth to " whole generations of the professional and clerical classes " who " wandered between two worlds and belonged to neither." The essential problem of Asiatic self-government could not be better put.

Professor East's description of

Russia's Asiatic empire is simply horrifying. If China, 1,500,000 square miles within the Wall, is undoubtedly big, what of Russia's 6,300,000 sq. miles in Asia, packed with every sort of wealth (excepting rubber) that a nation needs ? Professor East does not believe that from this inexhaustible " heart-land " Russia can proceed to conquer the world. One comforting thought is that no-one has yet succeeded in that. But the Yalta Treaty may well rank in history as the blindest, most disastrous ever signed.

One of the most interesting sections is Professor Walter Fogg's on South-West Asia, 2,000,000 square miles of land-bridge between east and west, beset with rivalries and envies—the physical weakness and mental strength of Israel ; the Arab discords ; and the doubtful gift of the richest oil deposits in the world. But may one suggest that more attention should have been paid to Pakistan as the future leader of a Pan-Muslim bloc ? Many signs indicate that that is written in her stars. Unlike India, a compost of divergent religions and peoples, Pakistan is substantially homogeneous and the rising insistence by all Muslims on " the Islamic way of life " is a notable feature in Asiatic nationalism. Considering the strategic importance of South-west Asia for the preservation of the British Commonwealth, British policy both towards Pakistan and the Arabs seems to have been singularly maladroit.

China provides another good section. The Communist régime is still too young for a formed judgment. More and more she emerges as a police State shutting herself off from foreign eyes. Dr. Wood, author of this section, well shows that, excepting in Manchuria, China is much less rich than once supposed in materials for the wholesale industrialization on which the Communists have set their heart. Of their other great aim, to stamp out Confucius with Marx and Lenin, his remark that " cultures have their defence in depth no less than territories " expresses the feelings of many experienced observers.

An important ingredient in the multitudinous problems of Asia is the theme of Dr. Purcell's great book in which he minutely traces the history and character of the 10,000,000 Chinese spread through South-east Asia from Burma to the Philippines. Some cannot speak too highly of them (and it appears to be a fact that the economy of the countries they invade cannot do without them), others have called them every vile name in the dictionary. Submissive under political disability, from time to time the victims of horrid massacres due to fear or envy, their tireless industry, skill in amassing wealth and indomitable toughness constitute a problem which western Governments cannot continue to ignore. The revolution of Dr. Sun Yat-sen first roused the sense of nationalism in the Chinese of the Nanyang. And now comes Mao Tse-tung : will they only revere him as the great national figure that he certainly is ? Or will they accept his leadership and guidance ? As yet they have given no sign, though the business class are certainly chilled by the sufferings of their fellows in China under the heavy hand of State enterprise.

Dr. Purcell's book contains a wealth of facts, lightened by many amusing quotations from early travellers in South-east Asia. It is one that no-one interested in the future of Asia should neglect.

O. M. GREEN

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST, by Sir Reader Ballard. *Hutchinson's University Library.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE SECURITY OF THE MIDDLE EAST : A problem paper published by the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. *Faber & Faber.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Sir Reader Bullard's theme has been handled frequently, but never with a greater succinctness or a surer direction. He not only knows his own way about

the Middle East and up and down the centuries of its historical past ; but he has the gift, with a sympathy, a clarity and, at times, a wit which make him the perfect guide, to take us along with him and to show us through his eyes how things have shaped themselves and why.

There are the middle ages and the incursions of the Crusades and the wanderings of British pilgrims. Then the spacious days of Elizabethan commercial pioneering under the wing of the Levant Company and the East India Company. Then, imperceptibly almost, the pendulum swings from the east to the west and the Middle East becomes more and more a strategic chattel with Britain, France and Russia more and more stridently competing in the market. Then Germany appears and there is no nonsense about her. She is swinging into the east and she makes so little secret of her demands that Britain, Russia and France bury their differences in face of this " *Drang nach Osten* ". And so we pass to the 1914-1918 war. It hatches something quite unexpected—the Arab Awakening and the renaissance of defeated Turkey which are now the *leit-motifs* of political trends in the Middle East. Between 1935 and 1945 occur the temporary adventures of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy with their plans to divide the Middle East into spheres of interest ; but their ephemeral antics left little if any lasting impressions. Now there is a new factor—the Russian threat from behind the all-too-close iron curtain ; and the problem of today is how the awakened Middle East—especially Iran —will face up to this last predicament and how—or if—it will acclimatize itself to collective security based on the west which it still regards as the lair of wicked imperialism.

Sir Reader Bullard gives a perfect background picture of all this. His book does not overlook British mistakes and miscalculations, but it does explain them ; and it is to be hoped that it may be read in the Middle East and remove some doubts and prejudices. A valuable feature of the book are its excellent indexes.

My second book, *The Security of the Middle East*, is a different type of publication. It analyses the American position in the Middle East and its interesting and arresting opening chapter explains—in perhaps over-tabloided form—the background of the problem of Middle East security and American interest in it. The remaining chapters are more a guide for lecturers on the subject than a book to be read as a book. And it bears the obvious stamp of multi-authorship with the result that it is " blue-bookish " and lacks the personality and intimacy of Sir Reader Bullard's story. But it does bring out very strongly the necessity of America contributing " means to increase the security of the Middle East with respect to both external and internal disruptive forces."

OWEN TWEEDY

ORDEAL BY FIRE : AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, by Fletcher Pratt. *The Bodley Head.* 15*s.*

To the innumerable books on the American Civil War, Mr. Fletcher Pratt has added another which recounts in four hundred pages the main current of event and motion that brought this war to its decision. Two assumptions assisted him in this remarkable feat of condensation. He believes that this war was decided on the battlefield and nowhere else ; thus he could deal briefly with economic, political and similar forces, and could devote most of his pages to campaigns and battles. The second assumption that saved much space was that the right was altogether on the side of the Union and that the Confederacy in its society, its politics, and its leaders was totally in the wrong. With this conviction Mr. Pratt could dispose in few words of many a difficult problem that would have required more extended treatment by a writer who did not share his certitude.

Whether or not one agrees with the author's convictions, one must respect the candour with which he presents them and must admit that they are useful tools for making history brief and comprehensible.

Mr. Pratt is obviously writing for the "general reader", and he seems to think that the general reader likes his history to be written in slangy, impressionistic and extravagant style. The book abounds in incomplete sentences and such unorthodox words and expressions as: Simon Cameron tried "a snide political trick"; "Chancellorsville went lost"; troops under close artillery fire "went back all raddled and teased out." Sometimes he writes as though giving stage directions for a light opera: "At the sound of the cannon that opened against Fort Sumter the bells of Charleston all pealed forth joyfully and the citizens left their beds to rush into the streets and congratulate each other that the war had begun." "But in the North, 100,000 marching men clapped their hands on musket-butts and swore it was not so." The antecedent of "it" is "the end of the world." Extravagant hyperbole is common. "A rebel sniper put a bullet through the boiler (of a steamboat and it) dissolved in a burst of steam and a fine rain of cog-wheels." "The marching columns moved light as thistledown." General Halleck "began closing in on the rebel stronghold with elaborate caution, an inch a century."

It may be argued that any reader ought to be able to tell that the author does not always mean exactly what he says. But it may be just as well to warn those who like simple, direct, exact statements that this is not the place to find them. The further warning should be given that here and there exact knowledge is needed to detect errors. Central Mississippi is not a "vast tangle of cypress and frog-swamp"; and the clay subsoil of Duck River Valley, Tennessee, does not shed water "so rapidly as to make the country a bowling Sahara twelve hours later." Each of these wrong statements is used to explain an important military operation.

Perhaps it is unfair to subject this sort of book to meticulous, critical examination. If it is read with an eye only to the general effect, the effect is sometimes dramatic and vivid. Futhermore, Mr. Pratt may be correct in his rather unflattering estimate of the taste of those who read history, and he is strongly supported in his estimate by Mr. Bernard de Voto, who has asserted that: "This is the best one-volume history of the Civil War I've ever read", and by Mr. D. W. Brogan who has taken the trouble to write a preface for it. But *Ordeal by Fire* reminds this reviewer of a dinner that conceals the scarcity of good red meat with a superfluity of condiments.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, by S. F. Nadel. *Cohen and West.* 25*s.*

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, by Otto Friedman. *Sylvan Press.* 10*s.*

The title of Professor Nadel's absorbing volume should be carefully noted. He explicitly disavows any intention of writing a text-book of social anthropology, but sets out to discover the logical premises, and the conceptual and technical foundations on which social anthropology rests. It is with that in mind that the book must be read. It is, he declares, primarily a book about method.

The subject matter of anthropology is those standardized behaviour patterns which, taken together, form culture, and of these standardized patterns, only those are relevant which are either themselves controlled by aims, or enter into aim-controlled patterns. Such action is, of course, human action, and therefore anthropological facts fall into two main groups—those which are concerned with the human motives and techniques leading to action, and

those which are concerned with the tasks that such action seeks to accomplish. In both cases, since behaviour is standardized, we have to do with repetitive patterns of behaviour, and we have therefore to do with repetitive human relations, and with repetitive relationships between themselves and the tasks they seek to accomplish.

Because social anthropology seeks to explain this double order of facts and the relationship between the two sets of facts, and does so basically by means of observation, comparison and the forming of explanatory hypotheses, it belongs to the same general set of disciplines as natural science, but nothing in the book is more usefully said, or more carefully worked out than the firm recognition that social anthropology and the natural sciences are uneasy bedfellows. The " phenomenal regression " that is unimportant in the natural sciences is all-important in the human sciences ; social and psychological phenomena are incapable of independent definition, and the reaction between them is both constant and causal, and these three marked differences from the physical and biological sciences mean that social anthropology has its own distinctive scientific methods and limitations. The " laws " of anthropology are always contingent and empirical, and there are always facts in a cultural situation which, so far as the laws are concerned, are " surds " and not to be grouped under the general laws.

The basic assumption with which social anthropology works is that of mental energy, and this mental energy works side by side with the linkage between anthropological facts or their genesis in what Professor Nadel calls "action potentials " which are preformed —" performed " on p. 311—in the human mind. The end of these potentials is the survival of man in society, and beyond that we cannot go.

So bare and schematic a presentation of the author's thesis almost inevitably fails to represent the fullness and yet the minuteness of his discussions, and therefore one hastens to add that Dr. Nadel clothes every important conception he employs with thorough examination and explanation, and that these are greatly enriched because he brings to them not only adequate psychological equipment, but, a much rarer quality in books of this kind, a competent philosophical equipment as well. It is that which makes it a little strange that he has paid so little attention to what may be called the aesthetic references of some of his facts. " Explanation ", he tells us at one point, is that which satisfies, and with that statement we are plunged straight into aesthetics, though he seems unaware of the fact.

Such cavillings however are ungracious when one recalls the solid value and stimulating effect of the book as a whole. It will probably please neither the natural scientist on the one hand nor the theologian on the other, but there can be no doubt that the author has given us one of the most stimulating studies in the prolegomena of the human sciences we have yet had.

Professor Nadel expresses his scepticism as to whether there is such a thing as social psychology, and on the whole Mr. Friedman's book tends to confirm that judgment. The fact is that Mr. Friedman gets off to a very bad start. Sentences like : " The thoughts in our minds permit us to remember past and to anticipate future anticipations " suggest that he is dealing with ideas that are not wholly familiar to himself, whilst others like "(The way) chosen by the individual depends on several innate and environmental factors " argues pretty much the same thing.

It is to be feared that it is only the veriest tyro who will find much help or enlightenment in this volume. It rarely rises above the platitudinous, and keeps rather obstinately to the path of the stock of common knowledge.

B. C. PLOWRIGHT

DIODORUS SICULUS, Vol. V. Books XII (41 to end) and XIII. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. Loeb Classical Library. *William Heinemann.* 15*s.*

A certain atmosphere of "Old and True" need not be resisted in our reading of the classics. When we seek refreshment from our own perplexities and find in the ancient world similar problems of war and peace, of democracies and tyrannies, of political and military disasters and economic rivalries, we are able at least to reach common ground in our contemporary experience.

The fifth century B.C. in the Mediterranean world is such a period. It produced the first great prose work in western literature in the *History* of Herodotus. Thucydides brought to a finer point the science which Herodotus had defined in his opening paragraph as the narrative of that which he had learnt by diligent inquiry. Xenophon told the story of a famous march with a soldier's eye and a born reporter's zest. In succeeding centuries many Greek authors followed these masters with varying success; and at last Greek history came to be written by Greeks in Rome.

Diodorus the Sicilian belongs to this late period—the age of Augustus, when Athens was still the university of the ancient world but many of its professors had settled in Rome, now the political capital of the world but sensible of its intellectual rawness. Diodorus set out to write, not merely a history, but a "library" as he called it, to embrace the story of the world from the earliest times to those of Julius Caesar. His books XII and XIII (of which XII is incomplete) deal with the development of the Athenian empire under Pericles, the Peloponnesian War and the disaster at Syracuse, together with the first Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. These volumes therefore challenge comparison, except for the last subject, with Thucydides. For modern readers, familiar with Thucydides, there can be no comparison. Listen to Thucydides on Syracuse:

> This was the greatest event in the war, or, in my opinion, in Greek history: at once most glorious to the victors and most calamitous to the conquered. They were beaten at all points and altogether; their sufferings in every way were great. They were totally destroyed—their fleet, their army, everything—and few out of many returned home. So ended the Sicilian Expedition.

We may search Greek, or any literature, for a passage of like vigour, compression and ruthless clarity. Diodorus has nothing equivalent. He narrates events without bringing out their significance and often buries them under a pedestrian dullness. Yet he could be forgiven far more than dull writing and sometimes muddling his sources for the sake of the speeches in which the Syracusans debated the fate of their Athenian prisoners. "If we put them to death we shall be merely indulging our anger, sating a fruitless passion; if we put them under guard we shall have the gratitude of the men we have succoured as well as the approbation of all other peoples." Other speakers and other arguments prevailed. The debate ran to many pages of Diodorus and almost every word of it has topical significance. The two Athenian generals were put to the sword. The war went forward to a more bitter end. Revenge produced its fruits then as now.

Diodorus Siculus can be read with pleasure and interest for a continuous narrative of events in the Mediterranean world at a period when that was the only known world and future history was being shaped on a grand scale. If, as in this edition, we are reading the Greek and English texts side by side we could hardly find an author more suitable to construe. Professor Oldfather's translation is admirably straight-forward and competent and his footnotes are helpful.

W. Thomson Hill

LATE HARVEST, by S. L. Bensusan. *Routledge.* 16*s.*

In the preface to his latest collection of tales of the Essex marshlanders, Mr. Bensusan notes of them that " a certain originality has passed." It is just this originality (born, perhaps, of a direct if limited way of living) that gives Mr. Bensusan's tales their particular tang. He captures it nicely in their speech, which is as expressive as it is peculiar. He captures it too in their attitudes, which are nearly always crass and surprising. Like Jefferies before him, in fact, he does not mince matters when it comes to depicting the country cottager : his pictures of the old marshlanders show them wart and all. If their heart is occasionally kind, their tongue is invariably harsh. They nurse their antagonism to strangers like an ailing cosset. They are certainly not without malice. Even when they are proved wrong, their obstinacy is such that they go on behaving as if they were right. And the utmost of their ambition is to be considered " right-forward folk ". Bearing in mind these not inconsiderable limitations it is surely no mean tribute to Mr. Bensusan's art that he should yet be able to make his marshlanders attractive to the reader, who, if he laughs at them, does so with no unkindness. It is, of course, Mr. Bensusan's good humour that does the trick—this and his sage common sense.

But " my marshland is dead ", he laments, and finds nothing admirable in what has taken its place. (For this reason, maybe, all his characters seem to be past middle-age and all his happenings, despite bombings, to have taken place before the last war.) Or again : " It may be under Time's direction that our talk is of the colourful past ; by comparison the present is monotonous and dull and there can be no future." Against this I would set Jefferies' repeated affirmation (who also loved the past and never wearied of recalling it for our pleasure) that his hope was in the light of the future. Without this hope, life is in danger of being nulled ; and, despite his skill and wisdom and humour, a note of nostalgia does in fact inform Mr. Bensusan's tales. His regret at the way things have gone even moves him to protest that the very birds following the plough are baffled by the pace of the tractor, whereas, of course, birds are as accommodating as men and soon use themselves to new conditions. If marshland is dead for some of us, it need not be dead for a younger generation who dance to a different tune.

This little said, however, the really important fact remains that Mr. Bensusan has made a vivid contribution to regional literature. To Hardy his Wessex, to Jefferies his Wiltshire, to Hudson his downlands ; and now to Mr. Bensusan his Essex marshlands. If his theme is slight, there seems no end to the number of variations his masterhand is able to extract from it, which is a compliment both to the theme's fertility and to Mr. Bensusan's own craft and insight. His many admirers everywhere will read with mingled emotions the news that he has entrusted to his publishers the typescript of two more volumes " so that the tale may be told with or without the teller." All will unfeignedly hope that the precaution was unnecessary : may he share with us his enjoyment of the one " sweet especial rural scene " for many years yet to come.

C. HENRY WARREN

THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS, by Paul-André Lesort. *Cassell.* 15*s.*

A LONG DAY'S DYING, by Frederick Buechner. *Chatto & Windus.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

A FLAME IN THE AIR, by Allan Prior. *Michael Joseph.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

M. Paul-André Lesort's impressive first novel suffers at the start from overcrowding and from a constant changing of viewpoint that is unnecessarily confusing. From the gathering of his relatives at Grandfather Drouet's funeral we follow their fortunes through the vicissitudes of family life and in

particular trace the story of Michel and Andrée Estienne whose marriage, due to the wife's illness after the birth of her first child, leads to an inverted Lady Chatterley situation, complicated by their Catholicism and expressed in terms not of D. H. Lawrence's inadequate vitalism but of sin and expiation.

It is fascinating to compare M. Lesort's interpretation of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony with that of E. M. Forster—the well-known 'goblin' passage—in *Howard's End*. The fluent journalism of the early part of the book has much in it that is striking and affecting but it is not until the splendid and tragical theme emerges—of the family as an epitome of the human struggle—that the novel achieves artistic significance. The concluding chapters and the little, sardonic whiplash at the end have the kind of greatness that is above criticism. They rise to a grandeur that excuses, if it does not justify, the formlessness of what has gone before.

A Long Day's Dying, a first novel by a young American, despite its often obscure symbolism and occasional pretentiousness, introduces an intelligent writer who may become, with maturity, a considerable novelist. The title is from *Paradise Lost*. What plot there is concerns the unforeseen consequences of a casual *affaire* between a beautiful widow and a young don who, because he is American, is quaintly described as an English instructor. The widow is also admired by a fat man, Tristram Bone, and a waspish little novelist, George Motley, whose name signifies, perhaps, something of the cosmic jester. Her son Leander, described at one point as a "Greek godling", has little other to do than to look handsome, though he is possibly intended to have the same sort of symbolic, elemental significance as has, say, Stephen Wonham in *The Longest Journey*. Tristram Bone has a monkey, Simon, who apes humans and is simple enough to commit accidental suicide in a horrible and pathetic manner. There are other symbolic properties and a matriarchal grandmother, improbably called Mahoo, who is obviously important to the author but whose significance is not made sufficiently clear.

The novel has some of the typical faults of an early work and of contemporary fiction. At times it is too analytical so that we meet its people at one remove from intimacy. We are conscious of the author between us and them. There is insight—and exhibitionism. It is vital for a novelist to be sincere; fatal to him, as an artist, to be merely clever. But a little brittle cleverness in a first novel is preferable to the deadly earnestness that makes many young writers such bores. Nevertheless, one can waste time reading emotional barometers. And Mr. Buechner will learn to write less *about* his characters; to show them to us instead and let us judge for ourselves. In his book there is that pause of self-consciousness, even of reverence, before introducing any mention of The Arts that is typically and rather touchingly American. It makes us comprehend, even to-day, Henry James's need of Europe. And Mr. Buechner's people are the defeated. They consider destiny a verdict not, as M. Lesort puts it, an invitation. With the long day's dying go the matriarch and the monkey—but the writer has as yet nothing very profound to tell us of man's first disobedience and the fruit of that forbidden tree.

A Flame in the Air, a first novel by Allan Prior, has an appearance of tidiness that belongs to something competently done on a lower level. It is about a radio script-writer who, for a feature programme, reconstructs what happened at a fire in which some friends were involved, with tragic consequences. It is partly a thriller and at the same time a semi-documentary on radio script-writing, written with an assurance that suggests actual experience. Mr. Prior's novel works up tension, achieves pathos, but has that undercurrent of cynicism and apathy that drains so many contemporary novels of much of their significance.

LUKE PARSONS

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

For too long, poetry has been the absent guest at this table, and toasting its health—or sometimes more appropriately wishing it complete recovery from obstinate sickness—is a poor substitute. So, welcomed first to this month's repast is the work of four poets which is, indeed what poetry needs to be, sound in wind and limb—able to sing, and to run without tiring.

Hearing the music

Lord Gorell's has these, disciplined and strengthened in the service of his preoccupation with the basic themes, with love and beauty, Jesus and death, time, the mountains, nature's rebirth, and the stars :

> You are so old, the eyes that Jason knew
> When Argus watched beside the golden fleece:
> * * *
> What are we
> Who gaze upon you, silent, anxious-eyed,
> But tiny vessels on a boundless sea
> Surrendered up to Man's infirmity ?

These are unclamorous questions, between the covers of IN THE DAYS OF HIS YOUTH (*John Murray.* 7*s.* 6*d.*), putting the hopes and fears of a couple of generations all the more surely into the narrower grooves. Not that he wastes breath on despising these days or their problems, for his is the deep, unhurried god's-eye view that has both tolerance and a talent for understanding. The style, matching the philosophy, makes him a master of slow music, whose cadences are clearly heard in the spoken word, a test for poetry new and old, and one that " moderns " too often shirk.

Prizewinner poet

It is passed by Valentin Iremonger in RESERVATIONS (*Macmillan.* 6*s.*), to whom " the AE Memorial Award of £100, made every fifth year for the best literary work, either creative or scholarly, by an Irish writer under 35 " was awarded in December 1945. He does not sacrifice song for experiment, and his images, too, are attractive because they are always this side of the bizarre ; so he can communicate intelligibly, and therefore to the reader made sympathetic, what he hears and sees :

> And though, midnight inclining bells over the city
> With a shower of sound like the tambourines of Spain
> Gay in the teeth of the night air, I thought
> Of a man who said the truth was in the pity,
> Somehow, under the night's punched curtain, I was lost.
> I only knew the pity and the pain.

He too has little use for sustained bitterness, the by-product of all the thinking post-war young, and sees life through the experience of the small boy angered by the theft of his toy horse who finds his enemy playing with it :

> He was so happy, I gave him also
> My vivid coloured crayons and my big glass marble

Screwtape's forerunner

No Dubliner, another Irishman in the 25 years' younger C. S. Lewis comes with DYMER (now republished by *J. M. Dent* (7*s.* 6*d.*) written when the Russian Revolution was fresh in his mind and where in his native Ulster he had " had opportunities of observing the daemonic character of popular political ' causes '." This narrative poem was to knock down idols and to escape illusions. The hero goes through stages of idealism, rebellion, despair, and gives a bribe for the happiness he remembers, before he realizes that he must " face his destiny " and turn away from the tempter Magician. This figure :

> It was a mighty man whose beardless face
> Beneath grey hair shone out so large and mild
> It made a sort of moonlight in the place.
> And somewhat in his sauntering walk he rolled
> And toyed about his waist with seals of gold,
> Or stood to ponder often in mid-stride,
> Tilting his heavy head upon one side

bears so reminding a physical resem-

blance to the descriptions of the friends and to the photographs of W. B. Yeats, that it is no surprise to find Mr. Lewis admitting it in his new explanatory preface. It is plain also that the author of *The Problem of Pain* and *The Screwtape Letters* was already there with

> The ruined limbs of Dymer, killed outright
> All in a moment, all his story done.
> But that same moment came the rising sun,

where flowers had never grown before and where the splintered woods softened into green. The author has no cause to regard this work of his " immaturity" with anything but pride and, in view of the intervening unmaskings of tyrants, could be excused even if he cried exultantly : " I told you so."

The rich man

It is the Jacob in Frank Kendon's dialogue JACOB AND THOMAS : DARKNESS (*Cambridge University Press.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) who goes back—to 40 years ago when he asked Christ : " What must I do to inherit eternal life ? " and who now realizes that a bargaining question had a bargaining answer, which kind Thomas, who never saw Jesus, interprets :

> In that, then, you were secretly admitted
> Into a deep and private understanding ;
> By token of that—have you not guessed it before ?—
> Your childish device was known for tongue-tied love,

but leaves Jacob accusing himself

> Have I then traitored so far
> To claim good upshot of a black rejection ?

of the Christ he adored. The young man of great possessions ever haunts the imagination, and those who have pondered over him since childhood will not be disappointed, nor even disillusioned, to meet the still puzzled man of sixty here.

Poland's Pride

Another fortunate meeting : ever since the reading of *Pan Tadeusz* in a prose translation by George Rapall Noyes, the gift of a Polish friend in 1935, the book and its author have stayed in the mind as symbols of the Polish people and their struggles, and rightly so, for their national epic poem of the last foray in Lithuania and of life among the gentlefolk in 1811 is not merely familiar to every Pole but is beloved as well. So ADAM MICKIEWICZ (*Fore Publications.* 3*s.* 6*d.*), by K. Pruszynski, was read one night—at a lying—in the town where I spent Easter, and this account of his own pilgrimage kept the cathedral clock, chiming every quarter opposite the hotel, at bay.

At first it was daunting to find that his political activities—which always seem, instinctively, to be as irrelevant in a poet as it is for Paul Robeson, singer and actor and Greek scholar, to be a Communist—should be discussed rather than his lyricism, the possible influences of the Romantic revival on a man born in 1798, and other congenial aspects of his work. But Mickiewicz, exile, with Mr. Robeson, Negro, unhappily fit into political formulae, and the story—of the Pole's years at Vilna University, his early efforts to secure the independence of his country, to which after his banishment in St. Petersburg he never returned, his stay in Paris, his share in the European revolutionary movement of 1848, with a visit to the Pope who was lectured by the poet for an hour, his addresses from balconies in Florence, Empoli, Bologna, Parma and Modena, his legion formed to fight the Austrians, his mantle as prophet and teacher, to his death in Constantinople—is all the way engrossing. A word of praise is due to the clear type, the format and the illustrations of the little book, which has a Foreword by Jack Lindsay.

Poetry and the people

He is one of those whose work is represented in KEY POETS, also a *Fore Publication* of 10 booklets (1*s.* each, or boxed and signed £1 1*s.* 0*d.*). His companions are George Barker, Jack Beeching, Norman Cameron, Maurice Carpenter, Dorian Cooke, Jonathan Denwood, Edith Sitwell, Stanley Snaith and Randall Swingler. As a way of

" breaking down the barriers between poet and audience, and giving poetry a chance to rediscover itself as activity " the venture deserves every encouragement. And the only way to accomplish this is to buy—and read, which, it must be stated at the risk of a charge of eccentricity, this reader has done even to every word. A Dr. Sitwell's " Poor Men's Music " we may perhaps take for granted, or " The True Confession " of a George Barker, but Stanley Snaith with a needle-sharp eye on Van Gogh, or Dorian Cooke's dying soldier :

> The wind-tide
> water-call, fall of rain,
> Are for those who remain,

or Jonathan Denwood's lively Cumbrian peasants at " Twinter's Wedding " are not to be flicked over. All these, too, are neatly, attractively produced.

The real conqueror

The last small book from these publishers here, reading like a crisp, clipped poem as befits a set of notes on scraps of paper, is the autobiographical record of Julius Fucik, translated from the Czech by Stephen Jolly (3*s.* 6*d.*), of sufferings in a Nazi prison. Its horror of torture-laden atmosphere is somehow intensified by the lyrical quality of the writing which breathes of tranquillity, joy in living, faith in humanity—even in the better side of German thugs—and wholly unconscious heroism. Waiting for death, beaten, bruised and rejected, this man, as James Aldridge says in the Foreword, " has left us his talisman for human dignity . . . in its essence this book is not a report from the gallows at all. It is the cry of a victor."

In the name of liberty

Odour of blood when Christ was slain

drifts down the centuries around these other sacrifices. Here is Ivan Bunin in MEMORIES AND PORTRAITS (*John Lehmann.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) saying : " I had drunk the cup of indescribable suffering and vain hope to the very dregs " after he had left Moscow in 1918, going to live in southern Russia, which was seized in turn by the " Whites " and the " Reds". His studies of such men as Tolstoy, Chekhov, Chaliapin, and Gorki, in the supple translation of Vera Traill, reveal much of his own character and story for, as one of the finest Russian writers of his generation, he brought as much to these friendships as he received; his " six miniatures " include one of our own Jerome K. Jerome. The last chapter tells of the days at Grasse when on one of them he received the telephone call from Stockholm that led to his appearance in Sweden as the literature Nobel Prizewinner of 1933. There is pathos in the speech he made in French with which he replied. Among his remarks were :

> For the first time since the foundation of the Nobel Prize, you have bestowed it on an exile. For what in truth am I ? An exile who enjoys the hospitality of France, towards which I have equally contracted a debt of eternal gratitude. Gentlemen of the Academy . . . it is vital for the world that there should be a few centres of absolute independence. Doubtless around this table there are representatives of every opinion, of every philosophical and religious creed. But one truth unites us all : freedom of thought and conscience.

To-day, 18 years later and in his 81st year, his words could be on the lips of refugees everywhere. And the free—those who have never been hunted and cornered, beaten and starved, and deprived of sons and mothers, who moan and groan about ten-pennyworth of meat—might start counting blessings.

GRACE BANYARD

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